The culture and social institutions of ancient Iran

Muhammad A. Dandamaev and
Vladimir G. Lukonin

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FOREWORD

Philip L. Kohl

Dr Muhammad A. Dandamaev asked me to write the foreword to the English edition of this book. This is both an honor and a serious obligation since the history of the publication is at once complex and sad. The original translation was undertaken by Mr Dana J. Dadson who completed a rough draft of the entire book except for the sections entitled "The Culture of the Medes" (pp. 62–89), "Review of Written Sources" (pp. 368–98), and "The Most Important Secondary Literature" (pp. 399–401). Dr Dandamaev informed me of Mr Dadson's work after he learned that I was also planning a translation. I contacted Mr Dadson in December 1983, and we agreed that he would complete the preliminary translation and I would then edit and polish his text for publication. Regrettably Mr Dadson died unexpectedly in June 1984 without completing his translation. The three remaining sections were therefore translated initially by his associate, Mr Paul Gallagher.

Mr Dadson's translation, though rough, was meticulously accurate, and his contribution to this final English edition was immense. The publication simply might never have appeared had it not been for his efforts.

Sadly, another tragedy was to come. As Dr Dandamaev wrote to me: "While the English publication of this work is a great personal honor and I am grateful to Cambridge University Press for undertaking the difficult task of its preparation, the book, unfortunately, will appear as an orphan. At the end of August, 1984 I discussed with V. G. Lukonin plans for the English edition of our collaborative work. He was very enthusiastic about this translation and had planned to rewrite several sections of the book. However, his untimely death on 10 September 1984 did not allow him even to begin this work.

The original Russian edition of the book, which appeared in 1980, basically used the sources and literature which had been published or made available by the end of 1976. A great quantity of various cuneiform texts, many books, and dozens of articles and archaeological reports have appeared during the last decade which have forced me to rewrite the book and introduce a significant number of additions. Thus, this current edition represents a revision taking into full account all the publications of texts, archaeological sources, and the secondary literature, which I had received at the time of correcting the translation in 1985 and the beginning of 1986. I. N. Medvedskaya rendered tremendous assistance in the revision of the sections on the archaeology of Iran and on Median culture, which had originally been written by V. G. Lukonin; she checked all this material, removed any mistakes, and inserted into the text any necessary changes which were required to take into account our current understanding of the archaeology of Iran from the 12th to the 7th centuries B.C.. In certain cases I. N. Medvedskaya also utilized materials from unfinished works of V. G. Lukonin, inserting them into different parts of the book. Lukonin had intended to select new illustrations for the English edition, and, after his death, I. N. Medvedskaya partially completed this task, suggesting several new illustrations. Many prominent Western scholars greatly assisted us in the preparation of this study. Especially important were the tireless support and criticism of E. Bickerman and R. Ghirshman, both of whom Lukonin and I had met on several occasions and with whom we had corresponded for over two decades until their deaths."

It is also relevant to note here that diacritical marks appear only for the translation of terms, and simplified spellings, which are customary in the historical literature written in English, are used in the remaining cases (in the spelling of personal names, etc.). Additions necessary for clarifying translations of ancient texts are placed in round brackets, while restorations of damaged texts are placed in square brackets. Wellesley College provided funding for the inputting of Mr Dadson's translation into the College's computer system. It also supported the considerable mailing expenses of preliminary and secondary drafts between Wellesley and Leningrad.

Despite the sadnesses that have attended the English edition of this work, I believe that the final product fully justifies the efforts of all those involved. The work will be considered a primary source not only for our understanding of Achaemenid Iran but also for any comparative evaluation of early empires. The empire founded by Cyrus II represented both the culmination of a long series of ancient Near Eastern empires – stretching at least as far back as the Akkadian empire, founded by Sargon I – and a qualitatively more extensive and heterogeneous multi-ethnic state than any that had gone before. How the Persians prevailed for over two hundred years, how they ruled and organized a state that stretched from the Nile to northwestern India, are questions explicitly addressed in this study. They are also questions that invite comparisons with other pre-industrial empires.

I hope too that historians, anthropologists and archaeologists interested in the formation of such early complex empires as those of Han China, the Mesoamerican Aztecs or Andean Incas, will find this structural analysis of ancient Iranian social institutions a rich source for drawing comparisons and contrasts. The Achaemenids maintained political control through a variety of means which relied, in part, on manipulating pre-existing systems of writing and monetary and pricing mechanisms. Some early empires lacked comparably developed institutions but also succeeded in establishing control over extensive territories and disparate peoples. At what cost was such success achieved, and how might it be reflected in differences between the compositions of their armies and that of the Achaemenids or their policies of ethnic and religious tolerance/suppression relative to those of the Achaemenids? Such questions could be addressed after consideration of the rich structural analyses presented in this highly detailed study.

Unquestionably, the book represents a monumental contribution to our understanding of ancient Iran and the Achaemenid state. It is safe to assume that it will be accorded a most deserved place alongside Olmstead's *History of the Persian Empire* and other major syntheses of ancient Iran in contemporary scholarship. I also hope that specialists in other fields will find it useful as a primary reference work and source for comparison. Illustrative of the best of current Soviet scholarship on the ancient Near East, *The Culture and Social Institutions of Ancient Iran* deserves a broad audience in the West. I feel fortunate to have helped in its preparation.

AUTHORS' PREFACE

Iran is a country with an ancient and highly developed civilization. Its inhabitants were among the first on the path of historical progress, having already developed their own written language and state formations in the early third millennium B.C. Despite an historical destiny that has been far from painless, the people of Iran have retained and developed their culture without interruption over the course of many millennia, exerting favorable influence on neighboring and distant countries and, in turn, borrowing the achievements of these same societies.

Interest in Iran's past has always been great in the Soviet Union, both among scholars and a broad range of readers. This interest can easily be explained by the fact that the history of Iran from the earliest times has been inseparably linked with that of vast regions of the Soviet Union, most particularly with Central Asia, the Caucasus, and the south Russian steppes. Cultural contacts and trading relations, which were almost never interrupted in antiquity, have been especially fruitful.

During the past decades many works devoted to the ancient history and cultures of Iran have been published in the USSR, Iran and elsewhere. The majority are of a general nature, setting forth the history of Iran from the most ancient times to the tenth century A.D. A few books, on the other hand, have examined relatively restricted historical periods. Hitherto the book by the American orientalist A. T. Olmstead, *The History of the Persian Empire*, completed in 1943, published posthumously in 1948, and subsequently repeatedly reprinted without alteration, has been the most detailed investigation of the history and culture of ancient Iran. However, thousands of written sources have been brought into scholarly circulation since Olmstead's book first appeared. Many of these texts from Iran, Babylonia, Egypt and other provinces of the Persian Empire, remain incompletely studied and published, and they are treated only in the most general terms in other existing works on the early history of Iran.

Our sources for ancient Iran are also continuously augmented by the

intensive archaeological excavations being conducted in many regions of the country. The results of this work have been reported in hundreds of publications scattered through many journals.

The authors of the present book, which is devoted to the culture and social institutions of Iran from the appearance of the Iranian tribes on the Iranian plateau until the end of the Achaemenid period (the eleventh to the fourth centuries B.C.), have attempted to recreate an integral picture of the history of the Medes and the Persians based on archaeological remains, the rich cuneiform archives, and other sources. The volume contains the results of considerable primary research and its essential aim is to elucidate basic problems of the culture and economic life of ancient Iran.

Sources and literature which were published before the end of 1976 and were accessible to the authors have been utilized extensively, but it has been possible to consider later materials only selectively. Text references are provided in abbreviated form only, as full details of all publications cited are contained in the List of works cited. Parentheses are used to provide additions made for the sake of clarity in the translation of texts, while square brackets are used for the restoration of a text which has been partially destroyed.

Many Soviet and foreign scholars have willingly assisted the authors by informing them of new discoveries of archaeological remains and texts well in advance of their publication. During trips to Iran the authors have enjoyed the unfailing hospitality of their Iranian colleagues and authorities and have had the opportunity to study the most important remains of the ancient cultures directly. The authors express their profound gratitude to those who generously shared their knowledge with them and who encouraged the writing of this book.

The sections entitled "Archaeology in the 'Iron Age'," "Median Culture" and "Achaemenid Art" were written by V. G. Lukonin, whose materials have also been used in the sections entitled "Pasargadae" and "Persepolis." He also selected all the illustrations. The remaining portions were written by Dandamaev. E. A. Grantovsky and V. A. Livshits made valuable observations on the manuscript which allowed us to avoid some errors.

1

THE EARLY HISTORY AND CULTURE OF THE IRANIAN PEOPLES OF WEST ASIA

A THE ARRIVAL OF THE MEDES AND PERSIANS IN IRAN

Questions of the time and routes of the movement of the Medes and Persians into Iran and of their gradual settlement there have already been discussed in the scholarly literature for more than a hundred years. Much attention has been paid to this problem by Spiegel, Prášek and König, while in our time it has been examined in the works of Ghirshman, Cameron, Hinz and many other well-known Western scholars. In Soviet literature these questions have been researched in particular detail by Diakonoff and Aliev, while during the course of the past 25 years they have been greatly elaborated by Grantovsky, who in a series of articles and in the book *The Early History of the Iranian Tribes of West Asia* has examined all the material on the history of the Iranian tribes in the Near East up to the formation of the Median and Achaemenid empires and has provided a comprehensive survey of the literature.

Until recently the majority of scholars assumed that the proto-homeland (*Urheimat*) of the Iranians was located in Central Asia and the regions adjoining it and that from there a portion of the Iranian tribes migrated to the plateau. Such, in particular, is the opinion of Meyer and Cameron, and, in Soviet scholarship, of Diakonoff and Aliev, according to whom the Iranian tribes invaded Media from Central Asia and the neighboring regions and occupied the territory of Iran in the ninth and eighth centuries B.C., although, as both previously mentioned Soviet scholars contend, the predominant role belonged to the former local population, which spoke Elamite, Kassite, Qutian, and other non-Indo-European languages [35:137ff; 40:126–30; 8:190ff].

At present this widespread hypothesis is being reconsidered by many scholars. As early as the end of the nineteenth century, some scholars posited that the Iranian tribes moved to the plateau from the south Russian steppes through the Caucasus [see the literature on the subject:

24:10ff]. In the 1930s König wrote that the Persians and Medes arrived in the region of Ecbatana through the eastern Transcaucasus. In 1965 Abaev concluded, on the basis of a study of Scythian–European isoglosses, that the northern Iranian tribes were located in the south of Russia at least from the beginning of the second millennium B.C. and that later a portion of the Iranian tribes moved from there through the Caucasus and along the northern littoral of the Caspian Sea into Iran and Central Asia respectively, while at the same time the Scythians, who were also Iranians, remained in their homeland, i.e., southern Russia. With reference to the works of Ghirshman and other archaeologists, Abaev believes that achaeological materials also testify to the movement of the Medes and Persians not from Central Asia, but from the north; *i.e.*, through the Caucasus [4:121–4; 5:11]. In Grantovsky's opinion data from the cuneiform texts of the ninth and eighth centuries B.C. supports the theory of the migration of the Medes and Persians into Iran through the Caucasus, and not from Central Asia, although it is still not possible to regard this as proven [25:327].

Working on the basis of onomastic and also, partially, toponymic material from cuneiform texts, Grantovsky has shown that during the ninth and eighth centuries B.C. the Iranian element played a much greater role in the regions of western Iran, extending beyond the boundaries of Media proper, than had ever been previously postulated; until now almost all scholars believed that the role of the Iranians among the peoples of western Iran was insignificant until the seventh century B.C. According to Grantovsky, the Iranian tribes spread out across Iran at the beginning of the first millennium B.C.; their appearance there dates to the eleventh century B.C., while their appearance in the regions near Lake Urmia (former Rezaiyeh) and in the Transcaucasus dates to the twelfth century. However, during the ninth and eighth centuries in some regions the old, non-Iranian-speaking population still dominated in political terms, but beginning from the second half of the eighth century B.C. the Iranians constituted the majority in many regions of western Iran, including both the territory of the future Median kingdom and the area to the west of Media. The Median state, like the later Achaemenid empire, emerged in a region where the Iranian ethnic element predominated; it was precisely on the basis of the preceding development of the Iranian tribes that this state emerged. In Grantovsky's opinion, the penetration of the Iranian tribes into Iran did not constitute a conquest, nor was it accompanied by a transfer of power into their hands over significant territories. On the contrary, from the ninth to the seventh centuries B.C. the Iranian tribes were usually politically dependent on Elam, Manna, Assyria and Urartu. Grantovsky rejects the opinion of König, Herzfeld and some other Western scholars that the ruling class originated in the Iranian migrants and that the basic population remained autochthonous; instead he holds that both the rulers and the common population were Iranian-speaking even prior to the emergence of major Iranian state formations, after which even the non-Iranian population began to shift to the Iranian languages. Grantovsky also considers erroneous the rather widespread opinion on the backwardness of the Iranian tribes in comparison with the old local populations of the Iranian plateau. He assumes that, when the Iranians appeared in Iran, they already had developed cultural and socio-economic traditions and were engaged in agricultural production, as well as livestock breeding, and that they were well acquainted with metals, used the chariot, and bred horses [25:289, 314–20].

Diakonoff and Aliev, the two chief opponents of Grantovsky, are now agreed that the latter succeeded in determining the time of the appearance of the Iranian-speaking population in the regions of western and central Iran and of Iranian Azerbaijan; (*i.e.*, no later than the ninth century B.C.); however, they continue to assume, apparently with total justification, that Grantovsky has underestimated the role of the autochthonous populations, which continued to occupy significant territories of the Iranian plateau [40:129–30; 38:90; 9:172ff]. In general, one must acknowledge that the works of Grantovksy have forced us to re-examine many traditional views on the early history of the Iranian tribes and have shown that the process of the formation of Iranian state unions was much more lengthy and complex than scholars had previously thought.

Let us turn now to facts that have been attested to in the cuneiform texts. The most ancient history of the Iranians is only very tenuously reflected in the written sources. The Persians are mentioned for the first time in Assyrian texts from the ninth century B.C. An inscription by the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III, which was written around 843 B.C., mentions the region of Parsua. In 834 B.C. the Assyrians received taxes from 27 "kings" of this region. Until recently scholars thought that Parsua was situated near Lake Urmia. It is the almost unanimous opinion of historians and archaeologists that Parsua was inhabited by Persian tribes, from whom this region also received its name. The Persians were still not yet united and were under the leadership of their own numerous chiefs, who were independent of each other. Somewhat later, at the end of the eighth century, the Assyrian texts mention the country of Parsu(a)mash, which was situated somewhat east of the present-day city of Sulaimaniya; *i.e.*, to the northeast of Elam. It has been assumed that around 800 B.C. the Persians detached themselves from the Median tribes and, faced with the onslaught of the Urartians and Manneans, moved south into the valleys of the Zagros mountains and then gradually migrated further to the southeast. In 714 B.C. they are mentioned as subjects of the Assyrian king Sargon II. Gradually the Persians occupied Elamite territory in southwestern Iran, which received the name Parsumash after the name of the new arrivals (this form is attested in the Assyrian texts; it appears as Pārsa in the Old Persian sources and Persis in the Greek authors; *i.e.*, the modern province of Fars). Such, in any case, is the opinion of the majority of scholars concerning the routes of penetration into Iran by the Persians [186:141ff; 379:115].

Moreover, some archaeologists (for instance, Ghirshman) assume that changes in the material culture (burial features, ornamentations of the harnesses used on horses, ceramics) also testify to the direction of movements of the Iranian tribes. As Ghirshman has contended, the Persians came into Elam not as conquerors, but obtained lands for habitation after having entered into the service of local rulers as mounted horsemen, inasmuch as cavalry was unknown in western Asia prior to the arrival of the Iranians on the plateau.

But Diakonoff contends that the names Parsua and Parsumash do not at all suggest the directions of movement of the Persian tribes. It is his opinion that Parsua and Parsumash are different toponyms that existed simultaneously; moreover, the region of Parsua at Lake Urmia did not have any relationship to the Persians, while Parsumash as early as the end of the ninth century B.C. coincided in terms of territory with the later Pārsa (Persis) and was already occupied at that time by the Persians. Furthermore, Diakonoff believes that Parsua and Parsumash were not connected with the age-old self-designating name of the Persians, which was transferred to the population that inhabited these regions, but are toponyms which designate "outskirts" in respect to Media [35:69, 161, 224; 38:90–1; 40:130]. In rejecting this opinion, Grantovsky has assumed that the terms Parsua, Parsumash, Parsamash and Pārsa relate to people and designate "broad-breasted", "strong-sided" and "big hipped" (*i.e.*, people of strong build), and that all the regions with this ethnonym testify to the movement of the Persian tribes from the northwest to the south, indicating the routes of their migration and subsequent settlement in separate locations [25:312]. Labat likewise assumes that, in all probability, the Persians were already in Parsua when the Assyrian troops of Shalmaneser III entered it, inasmuch as a chief with the indisputably Iranian name of Artasari ruled near this region [450:19].

In Levine's opinion, there are no grounds for locating the region of Parsua on the shores of Lake Urmia in any period and all the sources testify to the fact that this country was located in the mountains of the central Zagros, to the south of the Manneans and to the east of Namru. In the late Neo-Assyrian period, as Levine notes, references in the texts to Parsua in the central Zagros disappear, and under Assurbanipal this region, to all appearances, was situated far to the south, in the modern-day province of Fars (467:106ff]. Parsua is likewise mentioned in the Urartian texts of the ninth and eighth centuries B.C. in the form of Parshua [*cf.* 60:422], which, strictly speaking, also served as the grounds for locating this country near Urmia. However, Levine directs attention to the fact that Parsua is mentioned in the Urartian texts when Assyria was weak, when the Urartians could advance to the Zagros, and that when, on the contrary, Assyria was at the zenith of her might, the Urartian inscriptions say nothing at all about Parsua.

Stronach assumes that there are no archaeological proofs in favor of the hypothesis that the Persian tribes arrived in Khuzistan earlier than the year 700 B.C. and that they then slowly advanced to the east, to the fertile valleys of modern-day Fars. It is his opinion that the Persian tribes approached Fars directly from the north (and, perhaps, simultaneously also from the east) and then began to advance to the west. Kutir-Nahhunte (reigned 693–692 B.C.) was the last Elamite ruler to bear the title of "king of Anshan and Susa." According to Stronach's assumption, soon after 700 B.C. a substantial area of Anshan was abandoned by the Elamites and settled by the Persians. In such a case, the first permanent inhabitation settlements of the Persians in southern Iran must be sought closer to the province of Fars, and not beyond the hills of Susa [654:247–8; *cf.* 186:158–65].

Thus, the question of the specific routes of the penetration of the Persian tribes into Iran still remains very much a matter for discussion. At any rate, in the ninth century B.C. they began to move into Persis, which became their new homeland. Up till the beginning of the forties of the seventh century B.C. the Persians were in a state of dependence on the Elamite kings, and then for a brief period they became tributaries of the Assyrians. Apparently, at this time the Persians had already formed a tribal union, which was headed by chiefs from the clan of the Achaemenids. Tradition has considered Achaemenes as the founder of the dynasty (this opinion already prevailed at least by the time when Darius I seized the throne). His activity, if indeed he was a real person, can be attributed to the end of the eighth and the first quarter of the seventh centuries B.C. However, it is possible that Achaemenes was only an eponym, a mythical ancestor. Cyrus II does not mention him at all in a detailed list of his own ancestors given in the Babylonian cylinder, although he also had a vested interest in tracing his line to more remote times. One scholiast to Dionysius Periegetes wrote that the Persians received their name from Perseus, the son of whom was Achaemenes [*Schol. Dion. Per.* 1053]. Nicolaus of Damascus says: "Achaemenes was a hero from whom the Persian Achaemenids had their origin" [*FGrH* 1, 2, p. 361].[1] It is possible to agree with Diakonoff when he writes that a small Persian kingdom existed in Fars as early as in the second half of the ninth

[1] It is true that the name Achaemenes has a rather simple etymology; namely, "of a friendly will."

century B.C., and that Achaemenes was not the chief of some Persian tribes that invaded this region in the seventh century B.C., since Persians had lived there even earlier than that [40:130]. Around the years 675–640 B.C., the confederation of Persian tribes was headed by Chishpish (Teispes in Greek transcription), who, according to later tradition, was the son of Achaemenes.

B THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF IRAN IN THE IRON AGE: (PERIODIZATION AND FORMULATION OF THE PROBLEM)

Intensive archaeological work on numerous sites (settlements and cemeteries) has been conducted during the past two decades in Iran, throughout a vast area bordered roughly on the northwest by the shore of Lake Urmia, on the northeast by the southern shore of the Caspian, on the southeast by the center of the Iranian plateau (the region near Kashan), and on the southwest by the province of Luristan. All of these sites are dated roughly from 1300 to 600 B.C. and are attributed to a period generally designated the Iron Age.

At present, cemeteries have been excavated in the previously mentioned regions at the following locations: Sialk (near Kashan); Gheytaryeh and Khurvin in the region of Teheran; Marlik and Kaluraz in the Caspian littoral region; War-Kabud, Kal-i Chinan, Tattulban, and others in western Luristan; Dinkha-tepe in the region of Urmia; and a series of others. Settlements have been investigated at Hasanlu near Urmia; Baba Jan and Surkh Dum (eastern Luristan); Godin Tepe and Tepe Nush-i Jan (Kurdistan); the "Achaemenid Village" in Susa, Pasargadae, and Tepe Malyan (Fars); and some others [see 700b].

The division of the Iron Age in Iran into periods was elaborated in the 1960s, after multistratified archaeological sites (particularly Hasanlu) attributed to this period were investigated, and after sufficiently large collections of materials (ceramics, arms, ornaments, burial features, and public and private architecture) were assembled to make comparative analyses possible. Cuyler Young presented highly developed arguments for his conclusions on the periodization of the Iron Age, basing his research on ceramics from Hasanlu, Tepe Giyan and Geoy-tepe (all of which monuments were characterized by complex stratification) which he compared with ceramic complexes from the cemeteries of Sialk and Khurvin, and some sites from pre-Achaemenid times (Zendan-i Sulaiman, Ziwiye, etc.) [734a; 734b].

Basically, Young established that the archaeological culture of western Iran, the beginning of which can be dated at *c.*1300 B.C., was a new phenomenon for the plateau, where an "archaeological revolution" was occurring at the time. This "revolution," Young held, was characterized by a total replacement of the forms and ornamentation of ceramic vessels. Painted pottery forms disappear, and monochrome ceramics (dark grey, black, and buff) are widely distributed in their place throughout all of western Iran. New forms of vessels closely similar to each other appear at various sites, while burial rites also undergo a change (individual burials in extramural cemeteries that were located some distance from the settlements take the place of the repeatedly used burial vaults inside settlements that were characteristic of the Bronze Age). Young believes that these features suggest that the entire region was culturally unified, and that they indicate a common origin for this new culture. Through studying "typological ceramic parallels," he distinguished the following periods for the Iron Age, which he called "ceramic horizons":

I . The Early Western Grey Ware Horizon or Group (1300/1250–1000 B.C.);
II . The Late Grey Ware Horizon or Group (1000–800 B.C.);
III. The Late Western Buff Ware Horizon or Group (750/700–550 B.C.).

After having determined that by 1300 B.C. the characteristic forms of ceramics – vessels with free-standing long spouts (the so-called teapots), pedestal-based goblets with loop-shaped handles, and some other forms – were distributed at all the sites (settlements and cemeteries) then known in western Iran, Young concluded, from his tracing of the development of these forms, that – although the traditions of the first "horizon" continued into the second – the past "ceramic uniformity" had disintegrated and that a period of "considerable ceramic diversity" had taken its place. In the third "horizon" grey ceramics had been replaced almost everywhere by plain buff-coloured pottery, sometimes painted (the so-called "triangle wares" or "festoon wares") or incised. Although both this fact and the appearance of new ceramic forms could be regarded as indicating a certain shift in culture, Young suggested that this "horizon" (the time preceding the Achaemenids) should be regarded as continuing the "past cultural development". "The origins of Achaemenid pottery in Iran," Young wrote, "lie in the Iron III period, and no break in the record marks the transition from pre- or proto-historic times to the historic age of Cyrus and his successors" [734b:27].

By studying not only ceramics, but also the entire complex of Iran's Iron Age material culture, Dyson came to similar conclusions (although differing in some details) and proposed calling its periods "Iron Age I–III" – with the same dates [254a]. Like Young, Dyson believed that the "archaeological revolution" of Iron Age I was caused by the arrival on the plateau of a new population.

In the beginning of the second millennium B.C. in Mesopotamia and Western Iran, painted ware cultures (with local variants) continued to develop. The cultures of Godin III, Hasanlu VI and Dinkha IV are attributed to this period in western Iran. But in the second half of the second millennium B.C., "at first perhaps gradually, and then with striking suddenness", all of western and northwestern Iran was overwhelmed by the grey and grey–black ceramic culture, a ceramic tradition which prior to that time had developed for more than 1,000 years in areas farther to the northeast. Young wrote:

> Here the impact of these influences is such as definitely to suggest a major cultural dislocation and the introduction of a whole new culture and probably a new people into the Zagros. It is this development that marks the end of the Bronze Age in western Iran and ushers in the early protohistoric period [734c:831].

Thus, as Muscarella has noted, "the Iron I culture represents a new phenomenon in western Iran . . . Culturally the break is equally clear and dramatic, notably in the pottery and in the burial customs" [523a:52].

On the basis of a study of cemetery materials, Vanden Berghe singled out the following features characterizing the change in burial customs that took place in Iron Age I, and, correspondingly, indicative of the "archaeological revolution" of the Iron Age as a whole:

1 The dead were no longer buried under house floors; rather, extramural cemeteries were now set up at some distance from the settlements.
2 The dead were interred with various objects in graves primarily constructed of stone.
3 The funereal inventories consisted mainly of ceramics with the same forms as those that were also characteristic of Iron Age I settlements. The painted pottery was replaced by grey–black and buff ware.
4 In addition to ceramics, the funereal inventories included diverse items made from metal, which in Iron Age I consisted of weapons, personal ornaments, etc. that were still exclusively made of bronze, whereas iron appeared only in the Iron Age II period.
5 The grave goods sometimes included works of art (mainly gold and silver vessels with various images, as well as gold, silver and bronze ornaments), which represented the nascent art of the "animal style" that later became the distinctive feature of Iranian (Scythian, Median) art.

All of this has provided us with the opportunity to suggest that the new population that had brought a new archaeological culture to the Iranian plateau consisted of tribes of nomads (Vanden Berghe points to the presence of burials with horses) [700a:41–2].

Thus, the excavations of Iron Age sites that have been conducted in Iran have been concerned with the reconstruction of the character of the culture of the new tribes; the establishment of the initial date of their penetration into the plateau; and the determination of the routes of their migration and the stages of development of the culture that led to its florescence in the historic (Achaemenid) period. This excavation work had been inspired by a definite idea, and its aim was to make as complete a survey of the sites as possible. The implementation of the plan basically began in the 1950s, and the work has united archaeologists from various countries and from numerous archaeological missions, museums and institutes. Although so far the results of the majority of excavations have been published only in the form of preliminary reports, the material which has been accumulated during this time has seemed sufficient for the formulation of definitive conclusions. Now details are being rendered in more precise form and the dates of individual sites and their connections are being discussed; although until now no definite data have been obtained on the problem of the direction of migrations, the basic conclusion for archaeologists who have worked in Iran is considered to be firm: the culture of Iron Age I is a uniform culture that was brought to the plateau by new tribes.

According to this archaeological model, the appearance of the earliest bearers of the new archaeological culture in the Zagros could be dated from the period of Iron Age I (*c.*1300/1250 B.C.). To judge from archaeological evidence, the culture of Iron Age II (*c.*1000–800 B.C.) can be regarded as a development of Iron Age I; with somewhat less certainty the same can be said also of the ties between Iron Age II and Iron Age III (*c.* 800–550 B.C.). The dissemination of the culture of Iron Age I–II in Zagros was limited spatially and, it would seem, in principle could be correlated with the settling of the Iranian tribes into new areas, a movement which is known from written sources. The spread of the Iron Age III culture, on the other hand, was (at least in the seventh century B.C.) much more widespread; in fact, this culture embraced all of western Iran.

Thus, the arguments that unite these archaeological models with the written evidence on the migration of the Iranians into these regions associate the cultures of Iron Age I–II with the early penetration of the Iranian tribes into the most eastern regions of the Zagros, followed by their gradual infiltration to the west along the main roads that crossed the mountain valleys.

As has been assumed until now, the cultures of Iron Ages I–II must have been absent in the areas which were under the control of non-Iranian state formations that were subordinate to Urartu, Assyria and Elam. The widespread dissemination of the culture of Iron Age III in these areas is associated in such a case with the strengthening of the Median kingdom in the seventh and beginning of the sixth centuries B.C., and with the Iranization of the Zagros [734c:832]. This essentially is how the basic culture-historic problem of the Iranian Iron Age has been formulated in almost all the works on Iranian archaeology.

As previously stated (pp. 2–3), extraordinary ethnic and political diversity was characteristic of Iran in the second and beginning of the first millennia B.C. Arguments concerning the location of various petty state formations mentioned in cuneiform (chiefly Assyrian) sources [24; 467], which have not been definitively resolved, and the uncertain ethnic map of Iran for this period, naturally do not permit us to link directly the spread of the new culture with one or another set of ethnic or political changes in Iran.

Nevertheless, many scholars believe that the hypothesis associating the "archaeological revolution" with the migration of the Iranians on to the plateau has been confirmed. This point of view is so deeply rooted in the archaeological literature that the arguments for its substantiation are transferred from work to work and are now no longer being supplemented with new data. It would seem that for archaeologists there is no alternative; there are no other historical facts which could explain the unique ceramic (and in a broader sense, cultural) unification of the period of Iron Age I, which they have defined. The attention of archaeologists is concentrated for the most part on the question of routes of penetration of the Iranians on to the plateau – from the north (through the Caucasus) or from the east (*cf.* above, p. 1). Thus, according to Ghirshman, the Persian tribes travelled through the Caucasus, at first settling down on the west or southwest of Lake Urmia (Parsau; *c.* 850 B.C.); after the eighth campaign of Sargon (in 714 B.C.) they moved south, at first into Khuzistan, where they settled near Susa, Masdjid-i Sulaiman, and Bard-i Nishandeh, and then into Fars and Pasargadae. Correspondingly, a number of archaeological sites – Masdjid-i Sulaiman, Bard-i Nishandeh, and the Achaemenid Village I in Susa – have been dated from pre-Achaemenid times [309:22]. By noting some similarity of the grey–black ceramics of western Iran with those discovered in Tepe Hissar near Damghan (Hissar IIIC, which, according to radiocarbon dating, dates *c.*1800 B.C. [624a]) and comparing it with other data, Young (and many others) postulated that the Iranians moved from the east to the west [734b]. This view, in turn, gave rise to arguments on the dating of some sites: for instance the cemetery of Khurvin, which was the nearest known cemetery to Hissar. Despite all the efforts to date Khurvin as early as possible (for instance the fourteenth century B.C.), the gap between it and Hissar IIIC remained too significant: no less than 400 years!

All of these works, to one extent or another, took into account the linguistic research that was devoted to the analysis of the toponyms and names in the annals of the Assyrian kings from a period no earlier than the ninth century B.C. And here, as has been pointed out, we cannot consider the question ultimately settled, inasmuch as a particular toponym or name may receive different interpretations in different works. In Soviet literature extreme points of view are presented in the works of Grantovsky and Diakonoff (*cf.* above, p. 2).

In order to reconstruct the history of the culture of Iran, it is not even the establishment of the route of migrations that is particularly significant, but rather a determination of the time of appearance and the dynamics of the growth of the Iranian-speaking population in the northwest and west of Iran. According to Grantovsky, the Iranian tribes penetrated into this area no later, and possibly even earlier, than the tenth century B.C., and the "materials of the Assyrian texts witness to the widespread dissemination of the Iranian-speaking population, including the area along the banks of Lake Urmia, along the upper course of the Upper Zab River, etc." [25:314]. Diakonoff partially agrees with this conclusion in one of his last works, maintaining, however, that "the Iranian onomastics and, possibly, even the toponyms appear in the regions of western Iran and Iranian Azerbaijan absolutely no later than the ninth century B.C., though, admittedly, alongside a powerful autochthonous linguistic stratum" [40:130]. In this case, the "archaeological revolution" of Iron Age I could hardly have been connected with the Iranians.

The question of the "archaeological revolution" of Iron Age I thus becomes a major historical problem; namely, the problem of the appearance of a new ethnic group on the plateau. A vicious circle, as it were, is described with the shift of ethnos that is postulated by archaeologists. This idea prevails in most research, despite, for instance, the cautious remarks of Young himself to the effect that too confident a tone, with which historic reconstruction is sometimes clothed, masks a great number of problems that are being left untouched [734a:86]. At the same time, in their efforts to determine the routes of the penetration of the Iranians and the time of their appearance on the western Iranian plateau, linguists and philologists sometimes use the conclusions of archaeologists for proof.

The most vulnerable points in the theory of the Iranian invasion, which supposedly caused the "archaeological revolution" as early as 1300 B.C., are, it would seem, the following. First, there exist no strict proofs for an indisputable connection between the new forms of ceramics, their new designs, etc., with ethnic changes alone. Secondly, even in the most persuasive case – that of the appearance at this stage of a new burial rite – the archaeological picture turns out to be less than perfectly clear: burial rites are not stable but vary within extremely wide limits (for more details see below).

Thirdly, for the period at the beginning of Iron Age I (1300–1200 B.C.), there exist no linguistic data whatsoever on the presence of any Iranians at all on the northwestern plateau. It is a commonly known fact that in the second millennium B.C. the Assyrians very rarely penetrated into the areas northeast and east of Assyria (the Lullubian–Qutian territories). Their activities consisted only of isolated raids, and the Assyrian kings did not attempt to occupy these areas. After the crushing defeat of Kassite Babylonia (around 1175 B.C.), the Elamites likewise undertook isolated military raids to the north, sometimes penetrating into the Zagros, but they were not able to establish their authority there for the long term. Assyrian raids into the Zagros stopped towards the end of the eleventh century B.C. Authentic Iranian names and toponyms appeared for the first time in Assyrian inscriptions only in the ninth century (Parsua, for instance, in the northwest near Urmia was mentioned in 843 B.C.).

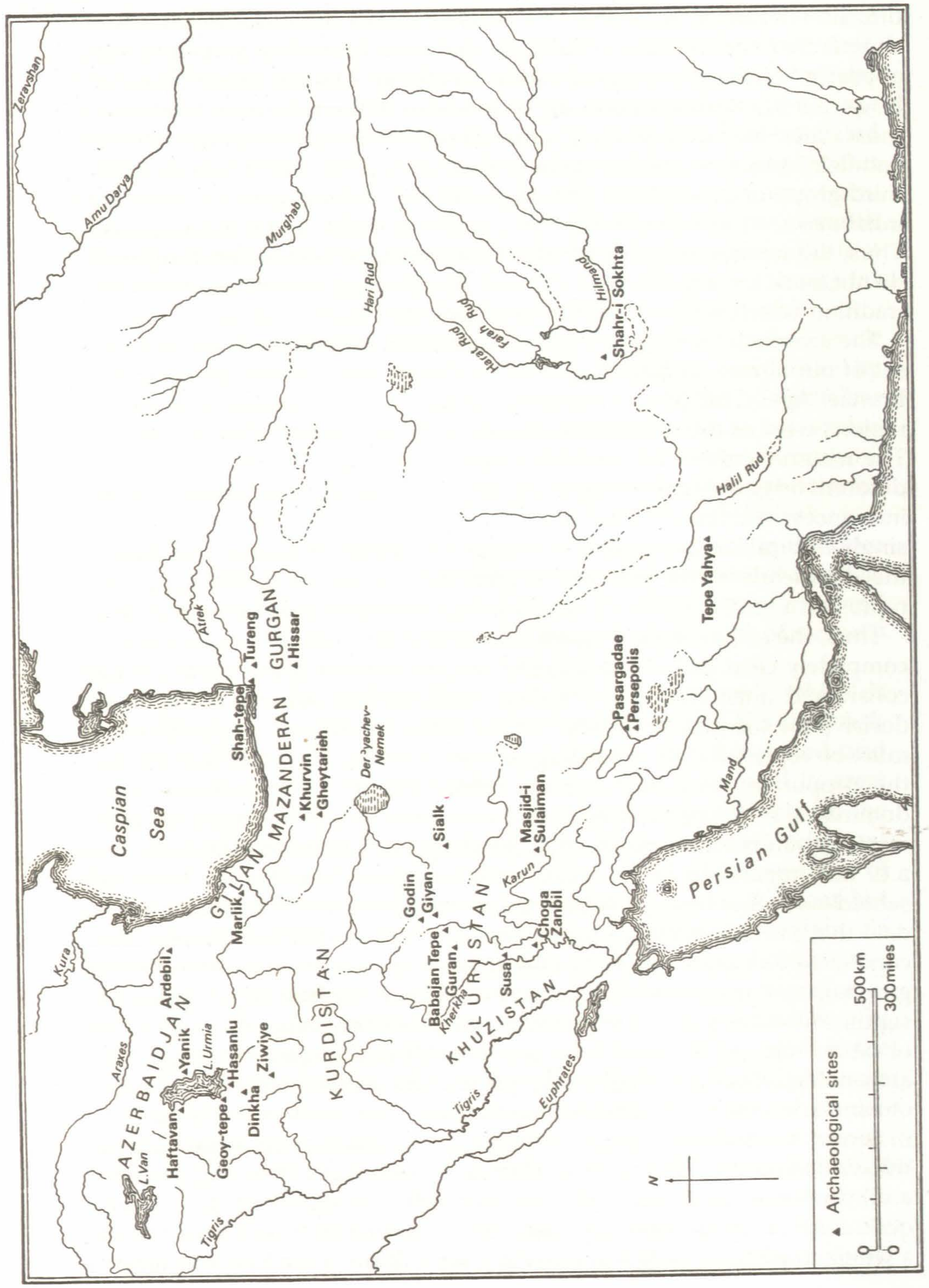
Fourthly, the question of a shift in the archaeological culture as a result of a change in ethnic composition is rendered much more complicated by the fact that until now no clear idea has existed as to who the Iranian tribes were at the time when they had already been attested to by written sources: were they nomads and "shepherds of cattle," or agriculturalists? In the first case it would hardly be possible to equate *a priori* a shift in the ceramic style of settled non-nomadic settlements with their arrival.

Finally, the very concept of an "archaeological revolution" in Iron Age I, which implies, as it were, the unity of the new features of material culture that had suddenly emerged – above all, of the new forms and designs on ceramics, which represent the most abundant type of archaeological material – apparently needs to be refined.

A monograph by Medvedskaya has recently appeared, which is devoted to the culture of Iran during Iron Age I [496c]. She has analyzed, in particular, the ceramics, metals and burial customs of this period, and challenged the concept of Iron Age I that has been advocated in great detail by Young and others, attempting to test their hypothesis for the sudden appearance and rapid spread of grey–black ceramics throughout the entire plateau. Her work has shown, first of all, that a number of ceramic forms (goblets, cups) did not suddenly appear in this area but developed from previous forms. A special study of the third diagnostic form for this period – teapots that were absent during immediately preceding periods in Iran and thus presumably linked to the migration of the Iranians – has shown that this type cannot in any way whatsoever be an indigenous artefact of Iranian culture, inasmuch as it appeared in the ancient Near East as early as the fourth millennium B.C. precisely in those areas which could not have been associated with the origin of Iranian culture of later times. It also appears that the Iron Age I ceramic corpus consists of several local groups: each of the Iron Age I sites is characterized by a specific ceramic assemblage and the most typical forms differ from site to site. Most significantly, Medvedskaya attempted to analyze the nature of the ceramic links among the various sites and the possible direction or movement suggested by these connections. Her analysis has shown that the dominant forms of ceramics from any particular site appear at other sites only as minor components of the ceramic assemblage. Another group of ceramic connections that can be traced only link those sites located relatively near one another. Consequently, these parallels cannot be used to support the assumed unity of this horizon. A third group of connections reveals permanent cultural contacts between inhabitants of northwestern Iran, northern Syria and Mesopotamia. Thus, the ceramic links do not reflect the unity of a "ceramic horizon" and do not mark the migration into Iran of the bearers of some united ceramic tradition which was new to this area [496c:38].

The examination of the burial customs shows that there is no uniform set of burial rites in Iron Age I that is clearly distinct from those of the Bronze Age. The bronze weapons have close typological links with regions west of the Zagros, principally with the eastern Mediterranean. The material culture of Iron Age I represents a mixture of elements of different origins which emerged on the basis of local interactions, various influences, and links. At present, there are no grounds for referring to a single cultural and ethnic unit for this period. Hence a detailed analysis of the data leads to the conclusion that the Iron Age I period does not represent a unified culture that suddenly appears on the Iranian plateau.

Thus, the archaeological data for the Iron Age I period do not provide a completely clear picture, and their interpretation, at present, cannot be considered unambiguous. The data of the written sources still remain decisive for the problem of the arrival of the Iranians on the plateau. It must be repeated that, according to these sources, a gradual increase in the proportion of Iranian tribes, culminating in their complete predominance by the end of the period, was under way in northwestern and western Iran from the ninth until the second half of the eighth centuries B.C. But, regardless of the question of along what routes the Iranians settled – whether from the northwest or from the east – it is precisely these data that provide evidence against a sudden explosion (specifically, the conquest of a number of petty city-states of western Iran by new ethnic groups), and against the sudden appearance in the Iron Age I period of significant masses of Iranian nomads, livestock breeders, or "shepherds of cattle," etc., who would have been capable of changing the face of the archaeological culture. A gradual process of accumulation of new features of a material culture, that took more than a century to develop, would be in accord to a substantially greater degree with the process attested to in the written sources. In any case, during the Iron Age II period (1000–800 B.C.) the Iranian features in the material culture must already have been quite clear, while the Iron Age III period (700–550 B.C.) for western Iran as a whole must be regarded as reflecting the culture of the Iranian tribes.



Map 1 Archaeological sites of Iran.

The basic archaeological sites of the Iron Age I–III periods will be discussed below.

C ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES: IRON AGES I–III

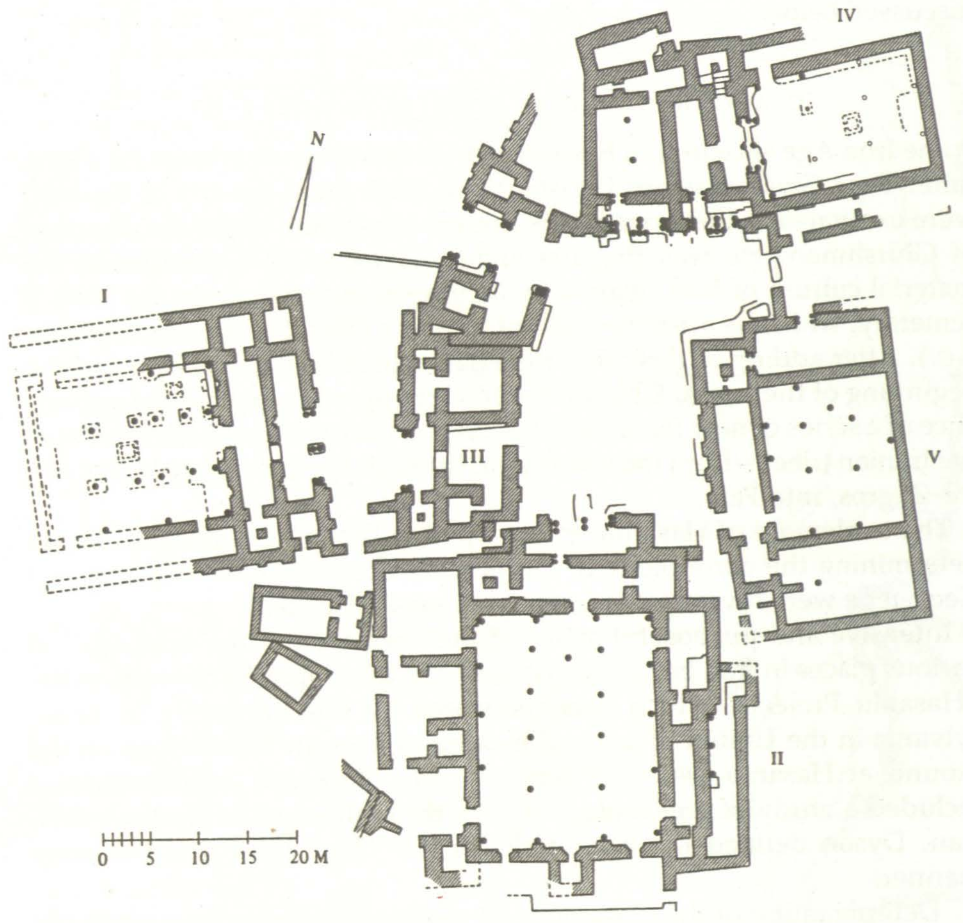
Some Iron Age sites in Iran have already been known to science for a long time. Tepe Giyan (eastern Luristan) and Sialk (near the city of Kashan) were excavated in the 1930s by the Louvre expedition under the direction of Ghirshman. He was the first archaeologist to note changes in the material culture of Iran (mainly by analyzing materials from the Sialk B cemetery, which he attributed at that time to a date of approximately 1000 B.C.). After adding to this more materials which he had excavated at the beginning of the 1950s, Ghirshman first attempted to explain the appearance of a series of new features in the material culture by the movement of the Iranian tribes – from the northwest, through the Caucasian passes and the Zagros, into Fars.

The settlement of Hasanlu (in our opinion the most important site for determining the chronology of the period) along with Dinkha-tepe and Geoy-tepe were investigated as early as 1935–6 by Stein.

Intensive and purposeful study of the "horizons of the Iron Age" at various places in Iran began in 1957 with the development of work on the "Hasanlu Project," which was sponsored by the University of Pennsylvania in the United States and headed by Dyson. Excavations on the mound at Hasanlu were the center of the "Project"; however it also included a study of archaeological sites throughout all of northwestern Iran. Dyson defined the basic tasks of the "Project" in the following manner:

1 Determination of the chronological sequence of the various phases of the cultures that replaced one another at various settlements up to the period of the Achaemenids.
2 Description of the features (as complete as possible) of each of these phases and of the entire sum total of facts that made up these cultures.
3 The reconstruction of historic events on the basis of the data obtained [254b:39].

At the same time as this, work began at Pasargadae which was conducted by the British Institute of Persian Studies under the leadership of Stronach [649]. He included among the tasks of this expedition the study of archaeological sites from this area that had preceded the Achaemenids (in particular, Zendan-i Sulaiman); in this respect his excavations were, so to speak, the concluding stage of the work begun by Dyson. And indeed, the study of the archaeological sites of Iron Ages I–III from the very beginning had as its initial hypothesis the theory of the movement of the Iranian tribes as the bearers of the new Iron Age culture



1 Hasanlu palace complex.

through the Zagros into Fars [649, 1:20]; hence the archaeologists would seek facts supporting this hypothesis, and so it developed that the initial stage of this movement was researched on the shores of Lake Urmia, while the final stage was investigated at Pasargadae.

Subsequently, these "basic excavations" were supplemented by yet another series of investigations of cemeteries (the work of Vanden Berghe in Luristan and Khurvin; Negahban and Hakemi in the Caspian region; etc.) and of settlements (the excavations of Stronach in Tepe Nush-i Jan, Goff in Baba Jan Tepe, and the investigations of a Canadian expedition at Godin Tepe, etc.). Some of them yielded sensational results. The basic archaeological sites of this period will be briefly described below [see 700c.].

Hasanlu

Excavations have been conducted for many years (1956–60; 1962; 1964; 1970; 1972; 1974) by the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, together with the participation of the Metropolitan Museum (USA). Excavation reports and special contributions are listed in reference 700b.

The mound of Hasanlu (or more precisely, two mounds: the central citadel mound with a height of nearly 25 m and the lower outer city mound) have concealed within them remnants of settlements from roughly the sixth millennium B.C. through to the Islamic period (ten major periods in all). Periods V–III (B, A) date to the Iron Age, and the last of them already closes in on the Achaemenid period. We should note that it is precisely these levels and, in particular, Period IV, which dates from *c.*1000 to 800 B.C. (a phase of Iron Age II), that have been excavated over large areas.[2]

Excavations on the central citadel mound have revealed a huge complex of buildings from Period IV [for a description, see 254c], most of which were destroyed in a fire.[3] The only gates in the western wall were fortified by huge limestone slabs. It was possible to descend to the center of the hill from the gates along two parallel streets, and from there along high steps to ascend to the so-called upper court, which was flanked by two buildings (the western Burned Building I; the eastern Burned Building I). These buildings present a typical model of the architecture that was standard for Period IV. An ante-room leads into the building (in BB I it is 4.5 m long), and a "stairway cage" adjoins the ante-room with the stairway leading to the second floor. A large columned hall with four rows of columns is located behind the ante-room. A brick platform with two steps leading up to it is erected in the hall (as a rule, at the back wall), and there is a long bench along one or both of the longitudinal walls of the hall. In the center of the hall there is a raised brick platform with a small column-like structure of brick: most likely this was the place for an altar with a burning fire. In BB I the column-like structure was replastered along with the platform after periodic burnings (over a hundred layers were counted). Along the west side of the columned hall is a large storage room with a series of large storage jars (*pithoi*) laid out according to a plan reminiscent of Urartian store rooms. Kitchens and living rooms, most likely, were located on the second storey, the remains of which were found on the floors of the first storey.

For architectural parallels to these buildings, one usually points to the northern Syrian *bīt hilani*, which, in particular, were excavated at Zenjirli, or to the "megara," similar to the megara of Pylos. It is not particularly clear what the design of the roof over the "column halls" was like: it could have been flat, or gabled (as, for instance, in the depiction of the temple in Musasir).[4]

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[2] An opinion has recently been advanced that Hasanlu IV was destroyed in 714 B.C. [496a).

[3] For information on dating, architectural parallels, and isolated finds in burned buildings (BB) I–III, see 734d: 48–71; 523: 123–5.

In our opinion, building BB II was the most interesting, and it was one of the largest structures (44 × 39 m). The remnants of architectural details, furniture, and ornaments have enabled archaeologists to restore in detail the interior of the hall of columns (dimensions 25.25 × 19 m). Rather narrow mud benches ran around its three walls, while high platforms were erected on both sides of the entrance. A platform faced with stone was located on the south wall. Remains of furniture were found directly in front of it on the floor; most probably, a wooden throne decorated with bronze details had been located on the platform. A saucer-shaped iron lamp held by a long iron tripod was found there resting against the platform. Many heads of red deer, complete with great antlers, were also discovered on the floor, perhaps having fallen off the wall. A small brick-paved room was located behind the platform. Chambers had been arranged above it and along the sides of the hall for some important persons, as we can judge by the discovery of a large golden vase with mythological motifs and other very valuable objects (glazed wall tiles, items made from bronze, gold and ivory, hundreds of beads made from shells, various semi-precious stones, amber, and Egyptian blue), some of which were, undoubtedly, imported items (Syrian and Assyrian), while there were cuneiform signs on some of them [523:124–5].

Building BB II (possibly together with BB I) was used, of course, for some sort of official ceremonies, possibly including even ritual banquets. However, arguments exist as to the nature of these ceremonies (civil or sacral), and, therefore, as to the nature of the entire complex (temple or palace). It is possible, for instance, that a cultic statue was kept in the room behind the platform [572:112]. But the repetition of all the features of the architecture of the hall of columns of BB II in other buildings, as well as the fact that all the valuable objects were kept in former times on the second floor, lead us rather to conclude that the entire complex of buildings was intended for civil ceremonies, while BB II was the residence of the local ruler.

> The picture of a local king sitting on a throne or bench placed on the raised platform, holding audience in the columned hall, with his officials and "nobility" seated on the surrounding benches and perhaps staying for dinner, and with his treasure stored in the rooms round about, fits the archaeological data as well as any other reconstruction. This same king would also occasionally hold more public court seated before the portico of the audience chamber and looking out over the great open paved court. Then, on his left, masked behind a formal wall decorated with pilasters, were the kitchens and guard rooms beyond which was his private residential palace, BB I. Across the mound perhaps an important official, but certainly someone of lesser rank, lived in BB III [734d:58–9].

As has been mentioned above, the Period IV buildings were destroyed in a fire during an assault on Hasanlu which took place around the year 800 B.C. According to written sources, the expansion of the Urartians into this area is known to have taken place at the end of the ninth century, so it is possible that an Urartian invasion caused the destruction of Hasanlu at that time; alternatively, Sargon II destroyed it in 714 B.C. Signs of the catastrophe, sometimes even its most minute details, have been established during the excavations with impressive credibility. For example, archaeologists have reconstructed the circumstances under which the inhabitants of Hasanlu had attempted to save the famous golden vase or Hasanlu bowl with mythological images (twelfth to eleventh centuries B.C.; for more details concerning it, see below) during the attack. It has been assumed that the vase was a sacred object; that it had been handed down from generation to generation; and that it was kept (at the moment of the assault) in the quarters on the second floor of BB II, which was either a palace or temple.

In the summer of 1958 during the clearing away of remains of the tumbled-down floors and a portion of the walls of the second storey of one of the lower quarters of BB II, which was a storeroom where various stocks of food were kept, a human hand was discovered, the bones in the fingers of which were covered with a green oxide from a bronze glove. Near it a gold vessel was discovered, and two more skeletons were found. A dramatic scene that happened many centuries ago could be reconstructed from these remains. The vessel

> was being carried out of the flaming building by one of three men who were on the second floor at the moment it gave way. The leader of the group fell sprawled forward on his face, his arms spread out before him to break the fall, his iron sword with its handle of gold foil caught beneath his chest. The second man, carrying the gold bowl, fell forward on his right shoulder, his left arm with its gauntlet of bronze buttons flung against the wall, his right arm and the bowl dropped in front of him, his skull crushed in his cap of copper; as he fell, his companion following on his left also fell, tripping across the bowl carrier's feet and plunging into the debris [254d:12–14].

Evidence to the effect that these three warriors were not conquerors who were pillaging the city, but rather belonged to the palace or temple guard (BB II) and were attempting to rescue the sacred vessel, can, perhaps, also be found in the fact that one of them carried a star-shaped macehead of bronze mounted on a wooden handle. That type of macehead was much older than the date of the fire, since such maceheads were known with Elamite inscriptions from the thirteenth and twelfth centuries B.C., having their origins in Luristan (now in private collections); one more such macehead, with the inscription "Palace of Ashur-uballit" (an Assyrian king of the fourteenth century), was found in Hasanlu in BB V (in that same level IVB) in 1975. At the same time, the armour of all three warriors and the iron sword of one of them are dated exactly from the time of the catastrophe. Hence, these armed men were carrying not only the ancient golden vessel, but also an ancient bronze macehead (a sacred weapon?) out of the treasury on the second floor of BB II.

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[4] Now Dyson believes that the root of the Hasanlu IV buildings would have been flat, not gabled [255b].

In the Lower Court near the doorway of the area between BB V and IV East, a white plaster-lined brick bin was excavated in 1972. Dyson writes:

> Lying in the bottom of the bin were two human skeletons, a male and female. The male had one of its arms under the shoulder of the female, while the female was looking into the face of the male and reaching out with one hand to touch his lips. Both were young adults. Neither showed any evidence of injury; there were no obvious cuts or broken bones. There were no objects with the skeletons, but under the female's head was a stone slab. The other contents of the bin consisted of broken pieces of plaster, charcoal, and small pieces of burned brick but nothing heavy enough to crush the bones. Two theories have been suggested to explain this unusual scene: one, that a pair of lovers had crawled into the bin under some light material of some kind to hide in the hope of escaping the destruction of the citadel, and that this is a very tender moment between them. The other is that they were hiding and one is telling the other not to make any noise. In either case it would appear that they died peacefully – probably by asphyxiation [254c:2–3].

Excavations of the Period V level, which dates to Iron Age I (from the end of the second millennium B.C.), continued in 1972. The Central Hall (9 × 11 m) of one of the excavated buildings had two stone bases of columns; a low bench was set around the sides of the hall and a slightly raised brick hearth was placed in the center. The plan of this hall and its surrounding rooms clearly shows how the layout of the buildings, as well as the construction methods, supported cultural continuity and uniformity between Periods V and IV. The same relationship is also corroborated by evidence from the Hasanlu cemetery (along the northern end of the city), where individual burials in pits were mainly found which lacked a standard orientation and which contained burial goods consisting of ceramics (vessels with spouts, bowls), personal bronze ornaments and bones of animals that constituted sacrificial food. In two cases the graves were faced with mud brick and cobblestones. These materials have been published selectively and have been described too summarily.

Evidence of the unity of the culture of Periods V and IV can also be found in the ceramics: all grey–black or buff ware (in Period V one encounters a very small number of painted ceramics decorated with designs that are connected with the previous period) and some forms of ceramics (pedestal-based goblets, handled cups, "teapots" with a bridged or free-standing spout) are characteristic of Iron Ages I and II. At the same time, the excavations have shown a substantial break in the material culture traditions between Period VI (from c.1700–1400 B.C.) and Period V.

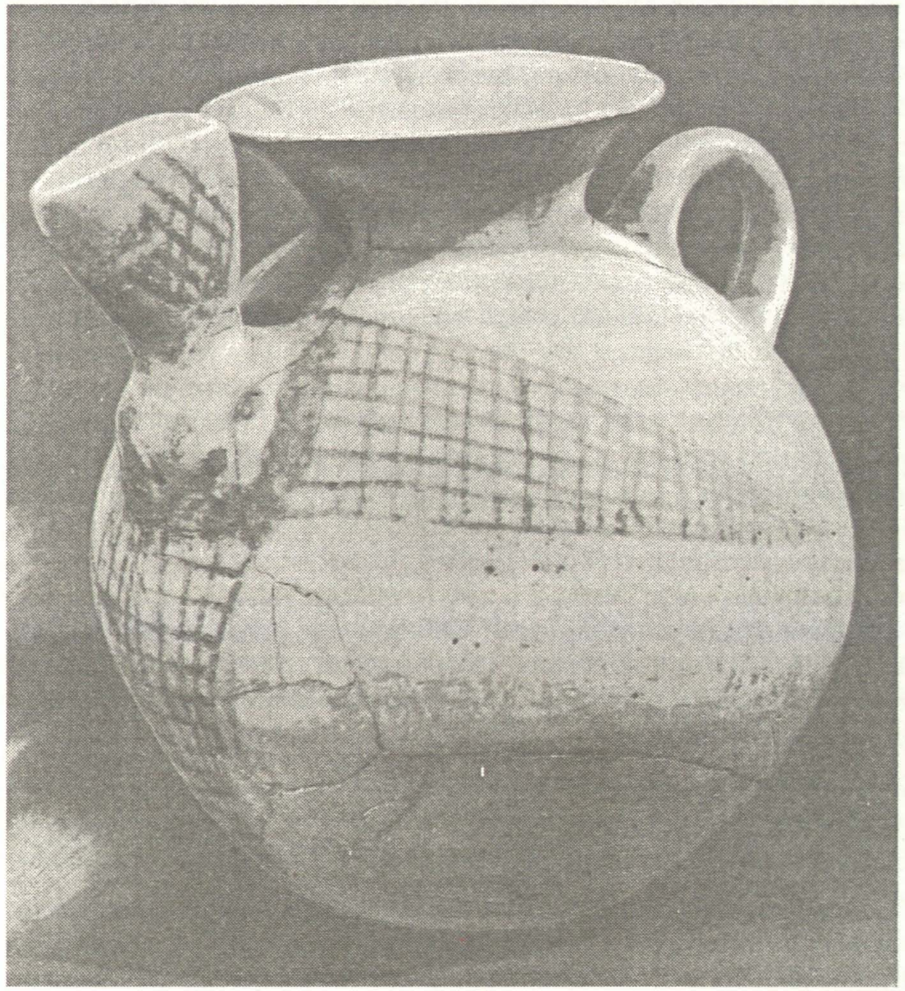
As has already been mentioned, after Period IV the ancient town of Hasanlu was somewhat abandoned, after which (c.700 B.C.) life resumed in some parts of the site. This latter period is characterized by new ceramics: red-slipped vessels which were painted with decorative "triangles" (Period IIIB around 700–600 B.C.) and which were replaced with new forms (canteen jars, pouring vessels with large trefoil rims, etc.) in Period III A. In terms of the form of its vessels and their ornamentation, this latter period contains materials that merge with those from strata of Achaemenid times.

Many years of excavations at Hasanlu have thus provided – in addition to a vast amount of material for a detailed characterization of the culture – a stratigraphic sequence that has in turn been substantially supplemented and enriched by the excavations at Dinkha-tepe, not far from Hasanlu [523a]. This work has linked many Iron Age sites to this region and to its stratigraphic sequence, including both cemeteries and settlements that have been discovered over all of western Iran up to the borders of the "Great Deserts."

Sialk

The second most important base for the archaeological reconstruction of the Iron Age is provided by the necropolises of Sialk (3 km to the southwest of the city of Kashan), which were investigated by Ghirshman (1933–4; 1937) [306a; 317:69–86, illustrations 29–32]. Necropolises A and B at Sialk have yielded material from two periods of the Iron Age. According to various estimates, the Sialk A cemetery dates to the Iron Age I or Iron Age I–II periods, and the Sialk B cemetery to Iron Age II–III or Iron Age III alone.

All fifteen Sialk A burials were in pits without any surface features. The dead were placed in a slightly flexed position, and the grave goods consisted mainly of grey–black and buff ceramic vessels. The forms of these vessels, which were chiefly large pots, bowls with concave sides or concave lower halves, and three-footed types (tripods), are likewise encountered on other sites of this period, but it should be noted that the characteristic ceramic forms of the Iron Age – the "teapots" and pedestal-based goblets – have been found in the Sialk A cemetery only as single isolated specimens (only two "teapots" and two goblets have been found



2 Painted clay vessel. Sialk cemetery, 8th century B.C., Museum of the Art of the Peoples of the East, Moscow.

out of 110 vessels). All of the weapons that had been placed into the graves along with the deceased were made of bronze.

The Sialk B cemetery sharply differs from that of Sialk A in terms of the type of grave construction and the objects found. First and foremost, the graves themselves were "stone boxes" with stone gabled roofs. The graves contained different types of vessels (in particular, "teapots"); besides the grey–black ceramics, one encounters ceramics painted with decorations of figured compositions depicting people and animals (on the "teapots"). The material from the graves is much richer (in particular, bronze vessels and many weapons, including iron examples, have been found). Finally, it has been possible in a number of cases to consider it an established fact that some of the graves belonged to horsemen.

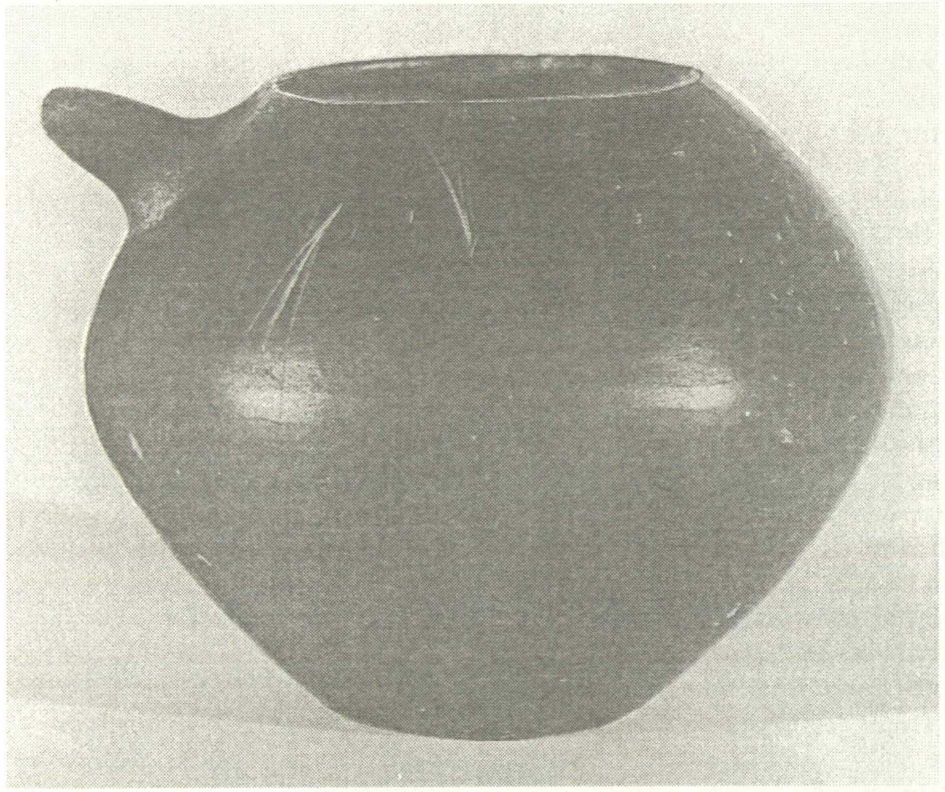
Arguments are still voiced concerning the dating of the cemeteries of Sialk (and in particular of necropolis B). The dates differ by almost four centuries (between the tenth and middle of the seventh centuries B.C. for necropolis B). The dating of the Sialk B necropolis to the second half of the eighth century B.C. was proposed by Calmeyer on the basis of his analysis of bronze objects, above all of the details of a horse's bridle and adornments, which he compared with depictions on Assyrian reliefs. His arguments were developed by Boehmer, who distinguished two stages in necropolis B: a) "Sialk B 1" (dominance of grey–black ceramics; absence of "teapots" with a bulge at the base of the spout; and a large number of cannelured or grooved vessels, as at Hasanlu IV), which dates from the end of the ninth to the middle of the eighth centuries B.C. (objects from graves 31, 53, 61, 62 and 123); and b) "Sialk B 2" (painted vessels; adornments of a horse's harness no older than the time of Tiglath-pileser III; and "teapots" with a bulge at the base of the spout), which dates from the middle of the eighth to the beginning of the seventh centuries B.C. (objects from graves 1, 3, 7b, 15, 21, 38, 52, 66, 74, 78, 94) [161a:802–22]. Medvedskaya's special study of the Sialk B horse harness and painted pottery supports this dating (750–700 B.C.) [496b, d].

These arguments notwithstanding, the great wealth of materials from the Sialk A and B necropolises makes it possible to establish links with materials from other Iron Age cemeteries.

Khurvin

The cemetery at Khurvin (80 km northwest of Teheran) became known at the end of the 1940s, when many grey–black and black ceramic vessels with very elegant forms appeared on the antiquities markets in Iran. Preliminary excavations by the Archaeological Service of Iran (with excavations headed by Rad and Hakemi) were conducted in this area in 1950, and in 1954 the Belgian Archaeological Mission headed by Vanden Berghe worked here for a period of ten days. Ten years later Vanden Berghe published, together with materials from his own excavations, the beautiful private collection of ceramics, weapons and ornaments from Khurvin that had been brought together by Maleki [700d].

Vanden Berghe excavated only fourteen graves, and Rad and Hakemi only six. These graves were oval pits which lacked coverings or surface features and into which the dead had been placed in flexed positions. The ceramics in the graves consisted of "teapots" with free-standing spouts, bowls with horizontally set handles, single-handed jars, and "tripods," or, specifically, that assemblage of forms from the Iron Age I period,



3 Clay vessel. Khurvin, 12th–11th centuries B.C., State Hermitage Museum, Leningrad.

which has already been referred to several times. A small number of bronze weapons and ornaments have been found. The dating of the necropolis is debatable (according to Vanden Berghe, it should be dated from *c.*1400 to 1100 B.C.; later dates have also been suggested). Vessels with even later forms are encountered in private collections, where hundreds have been kept that were acquired by illegal excavations both in Khurvin and, it would seem, in the cemetery of Chandar near Khurvin (we can say that black polished ceramics are characteristic of the latter). Unfortunately, recently-conducted surveys have shown that the cemetery at Chandar has been almost totally plundered by uncontrolled excavations.

Kaluraz

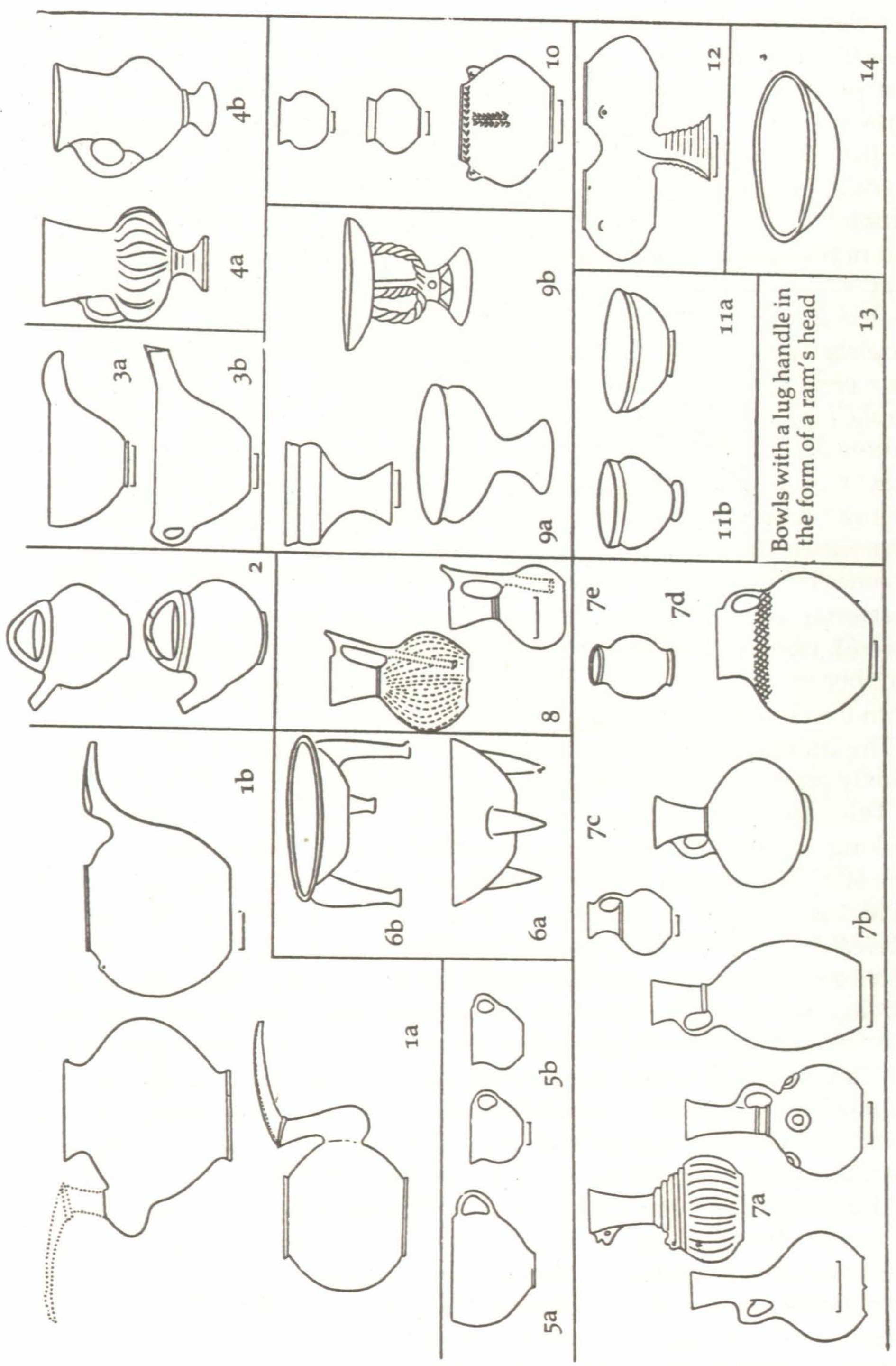
The cemetery at Kaluraz (in Gilan) was discovered in 1965 by the Iranian archaeologist Hakemi. To date, the materials from his excavations have been published mainly in the Iranian periodical press [341a].

Kaluraz is a small village situated on the Qazvin–Rasht highway, in the mountain ravine of Bazi on the banks of the Sefid Rud river. Insofar as one can judge from brief field reports, the cemetery at Kaluraz, like other known sites in this area, was a single period site, a fact which was caused by the particular natural conditions of Gilan. Due to the rapid development of swamplands in the valleys, ancient settlements which were first situated in the foothills of the valleys crawled up, as it were, over time into the mountains; consequently, they display a characteristic stratification that is not based on several consecutive levels at one side, but on single period settlements which consecutively replaced each other (archaeologists use the term "horizontal stratification"). Unfortunately, detailed data concerning the construction of the graves are not described in the publications, but from indirect indications by the director of the excavations, it is possible to conclude that they were in all ways similar to the graves of Marlik (see below). As was the case at Marlik, the graves at Kaluraz consisted of stone cists: structures built from slabs of sandstone into which the dead were placed in a flexed position without constant orientation. Hakemi distinguishes four types of graves. According to him (personal communication), they all contained individual burials [*cf.* 618:46]. Hakemi also reported that in Kaluraz he discovered a substantial number of horse burials, which were situated apart at a certain distance from the tombs containing people.

The ceramics from Kaluraz have almost never been published, but are widely represented in several display cases of the archaeological museum in Teheran. Their refinement of forms and splendid execution are very striking. Among those items presented are tall black pots with long free-standing spouts that resemble the beaks of cormorants; vessels, including "teapots," sometimes decorated with imprints of grain; an interesting ceramic item consisting of three vessels with spouts that are fastened to a unique chariot; "teapots" on two boot-legs with acutely curving tips or toes; etc. The black-burnished vessels and the many grey–black and red wares, which are all made from beautifully washed clay, are thin-walled and possibly, in part, specially made for graves; *e.g.*, on a buff ware pot a long elegant spout, which is attached not far from the bottom of the vessel, bends downwards – such a form could not have been used for everyday household purposes.

The weapons found in the graves, which were mainly made of bronze in forms characteristic of the Caspian area (connected with Talish), consisted of very diverse types of objects: daggers, swords, spearheads, arrowheads, axes and maceheads. The hilts of the swords have incrustations and cone-shaped pommels (similar to the Khurvin swords and daggers from private collections).

Components of horses' harnesses have been found in large quantities,



4 Types of ceramics from Gheytaryeh Cemetery.

1 Small 'teapot': a) with long, projecting spouts characteristically thickened where they meet the body. No handles. The bodies are spherical, the rims either low or everted; b) with projecting, grooved spouts, the latter shorter and without the thickening at the base. Instead of handles, small button-like holes are sometimes used.

2 Small 'teapots' with tubular spouts and basket handles.

3 Vessels with pouring lips, the 'sauceboats' of Ghirshman's terminology: a) without handles, the spout slightly curved; b) handled, the spout straight.

4 Handled tankards with globular bodies, pedestal feet and tall, flaring necks: a) with ribbed or fluted bodies; b) undecorated with mouldings at the junction of body and foot.

5 Cups: a) with a raised base, the handle attached to the rim and the middle of the body; b) with a rounded body and wide neck provided with a simple loop handle, the rim slightly everted.

6 Tripod vessels: a) cup-shaped with tapering feet springing from the lower part of the vessel; b) shallowly dished with feet attached just below the rim.

7 Pitchers or jugs. These take a number of forms: a) with a tall flaring neck, the height amounting to half the height of the vessel and a handle attached to neck and shoulder. One example bears circular applied ornament and two small cordons at the bottom of the neck, another three mammiform lugs on the base. A further variant in this group carries two pierced lugs at the rim and shoulder as a substitute for a handle. The body is ribbed and the neck decorated with raised cordons. b) Pitchers with tall egg-shaped bodies and flaring neck, the handle attached to the middle of the neck and the shoulder, and a raised cordon around the neck. c) Pitchers with flattened spherical bodies and funnel-shaped necks, decorated with a raised border on the base. The handle links the shoulder and the middle of the neck. d) Pitchers with spherical bodies and straight necks, the handles attached to rim and shoulder. A burnished lattice design decorates the shoulder. e) Pitchers with short straight necks and horizontally everted rims. No handles.

8 Pitchers with funnel-shaped necks and upright spouts joined to the rim at the top by a horizontal bridge. The bottom of the neck bears one or two cordons, and in one instance the base carried three mammiform lugs comparable to those found on type 7a pitchers.

9 Pedestal dishes: a) cup-shaped on a high pedestal or low foot; b) shallowly dished and set on four legs joined at the base to form a pedestal; one leg is straight and attached to the underside of the dish at the centre while the other three are curved and twisted.

10 Pots, some with lugs on the body just below the rim.

11 Cups: a) wide-mouthed; b) cup-shaped with everted rims and low pedestals.

12 Two-part vessel, on a high, corrugated pedestal foot.

13 Bowls with a lug handle in the form of a ram's head (not illustrated).

14 Large dishes or food trays.

which, in some instances, represent beautiful works of art (for instance, a bronze rein ring topped by little figures of hunters and beasts). Finally, a considerable amount of jewelry – gold, silver and bronze beads (some decorated with delicate granulation), bracelets, etc. – has been published. Gold and silver vessels, and cylindrical goblets decorated with guilloche designs along their edges and with various images – lions attacking mountain goats; deer, winged lions, birds, etc. – have also been published. The style of the images and the technique of their rendering are the same as in the toreutics of Marlik (see below).

We cannot reach any firm conclusion concerning the precise dating of the cemetery until, as mentioned above, the site is fully published. All of the material "from Kaluraz" that has been published and displayed in the museum testifies rather to the fact that several necropolises dating from different times in the periods of Iron Ages I–III have been excavated in this area.

Gheytaryeh

The excavations of the cemetery of Gheytaryeh (near Teheran) were conducted by Iranian archaeologists under the direction of Kambakhch Fard. More than 2,500 grey–black and buff vessels, as well as other materials from Iron Age I that were closely related to the materials from Khurvin [496c], were found here in pit-type burials (more than 200 were excavated). Iron objects are absent from the material remains, while weapons are represented only by knives and the tips of javelins; very few ornaments were discovered. Both males and females are found among the burials. The basic inventory of the graves consists of ceramics. Sometimes approximately fifteen vessels of various shapes and types had been placed with the individual who had been buried.

Marlik

The Marlik cemetery (Gilan, 14 km to the east of the village of Rudbar on the south bank of the Sefid Rud) was excavated by an expedition of Teheran University and the Archaeological Service of Iran under the direction of Negahban in 1961–2. A complete report of the excavations has not yet been published. In 1964 a "Preliminary Report" appeared [527], while several articles devoted to particular problems [527a] have appeared in subsequent years.

Negahban uncovered 53 tombs, which he arranged and published not according to the inventory of each individual tomb, but on the basis of squares superimposed on a plan of the cemetery prior to the beginning of the excavations, as a result of which the grave goods from one tomb could fall into different squares. Furthermore, only the artistic or unusual objects have so far been published; the descriptions do not even mention the forms and decorations of the common wares. Materials that could be used for dating, such as, for instance, arrowheads or seals, were not assigned to specific graves.

Finally, even in those incomplete assemblages which can be reconstructed from the publications, both early and late objects are inexplicably present. For instance, one can see on the photograph of the so-called grave of the warrior (XXIII G) a bronze sword, which dates from the twelfth century B.C., together with a bronze "teapot" with a bulge at the spout (a form which occurs in the Sialk B cemetery, where it is dated by various scholars from the tenth to the beginning of the seventh centuries, or, perhaps more precisely, 750–700 B.C.). These circumstances do not allow us to reconstruct fully the material culture of Marlik until all the materials from the site are published in detail. The dating of the necropolis, which was suggested by Negahban as the end of the second and beginning of the first millennia B.C., must be considered preliminary. In order to substantiate his dating for the ceramics and bronze vessels, Negahban draws upon parallels chiefly from Sialk B (the ninth to the beginning of the seventh centuries B.C.), while for the weapons he draws upon earlier materials from Talish and Kalardasht and for jewelry he uses analogies from Tepe Hissar, Khurvin, Sialk, etc. [527:31–6].

It is the opinion of the director of the excavations that Marlik was a royal necropolis. The graves that were excavated fall roughly into four categories. Type I consisted of large cists of irregular forms, the walls of which were built from small slabs of shale and cobblestones with clay mortar. The dimensions of these cists were approximately 3 × 5 m. This type of stone tomb was comparatively rare. Type II consisted of cists of rectangular form with one curved wall constructed of stone slabs filled in with mud mortar. The walls of the cists were covered by a coat of reddish clay. The entire grave was usually covered over with a layer of soil of brown–red color; it is possible that ochre was used, Negahban believes that one of these tombs "may have belonged to a young prince who died during the reign of his father" [527:25]. Type III tombs, which were approximately square (3 × 3 m), were carefully made of large broken stones filled with clay mortar. Negahban considers these his earliest type. Type IV consisted of small cists of irregular form (1 × 2 m; a total of three were found), which were similar to graves of Type I and contained sets of horse teeth, bronze horse bits, and parts of horses' harnesses. Almost no bones were found in the graves; Negahban assumes that they had been destroyed by rodents or had disintegrated.

The "Preliminary Report" distinguishes several groups of diverse materials; as a rule, however, it is impossible to group them together even into incomplete assemblages. Thus, the following were found in Square XIV D [527, Figs. 20, 27, 91, 117]: a bronze cooking pot with a rounded bottom and two handles at the rim; twin pottery jars joined side by side with handles and a design in the form of notches; a burnished red clay figurine of a zebu with a golden earring in its ear – a zoomorphic vessel (the mouth forms a spout); and one can see in the photograph of the grave [Fig. 20] another five such vessels set up in a row. Only half of a grave of Type I is depicted on the distribution map of the tombs in the necropolis in Square XIV D. The second half of it, together with half of a grave of Type III and a quarter of yet another grave of Type II, fell into Square XV. The remaining three quarters of this latter grave together with part of a large grave of Type I are depicted in Square XV E. The following were found in this square [527, Figs. 16a, b, 17b, 35, 44, 66, 70, 74, 92, 95, 107, 124]:

1. Ceramics: a burnished red clay figurine of a seated female bear. The paws have four fingers; the ears are pierced; and the mouth forms a spout.
2. Weapons: a bronze spearhead with a ridge down the middle of its blade (75 cm long); a bronze pitchfork with two prongs and a hollow handle (40.2 cm long); and a double-headed bronze axe with the blades set at right angles to each other (16.5 cm long).
3. Ornaments: a necklace consisting of a golden chain with a granulated double pyramid or diamond shaped pendant in a loop; a double-eagle-headed golden pendant on a twisted ring; a silver bracelet made of two hollow tubes placed one inside the other; and bronze figurine of a zebu mounted on four wheels.
4. Toreutics: a silver cup with a design of punched holes; and a thin-walled golden vessel (in Fig. 107 it appears to lie inside a bronze kettle) with a depiction of mountain goats, birds, and the sacred tree.

A beautifully proportioned vase of olive grey pottery with polished slip and free-standing spout was found in Square XVII B [527, Figs. 18a, 25, 39, 49–51, 53, 56, 58, 59, 68, 69, 83, 97, 102, 125], which consisted of half a grave of Type I; this vessel was identical to one found in the cemetery at Kaluraz [527, Fig. 25]. Other items from this square include the following: two bronze swords – a long heavy one with a large hollow crescent-shaped pommel (82 cm long) [527, Fig. 50] and a short one (59.3 cm long) [527, Fig. 51] with a straight, rather narrow blade and a semi-circular pommel; bronze arrowheads of various types; a bronze model of a bow; and many golden ornaments, including a pendant decorated with granulation.

The most representative complex comes from the complete grave XVIII C (belonging to Type II) [527, Figs. 14, 18b, 28, 37, 42, 54, 77, 81, 93, 94, 96a, 99, 101, 111, 112, 127]. Gold vessels were found here. One is a bowl with a straight rim decorated with a guilloche [527, Fig. 112]. On one side of the bowl is a representation of an eagle with wings outspread over two rams, and, on the reverse, two more rams, one on each side of the sacred tree. The heads of the rams and eagle were executed in full relief, while the details of the bodies were worked in *repoussé* from the interior and by engraving. The second gold vessel (527, Table 8A) depicts two rows (in two registers) of recumbent mountain goats.

The third vessel, which is most likely the best known due to its numerous reproductions, contains a design of winged bulls and griffins (in two registers); the griffins with the bodies and paws of lions and heads of eagles are particularly interesting.

Besides these vessels, a hollow golden bust of a man [527, Fig. 101] in ceremonial dress in *repoussé* and chasing from the interior was found in the cemetery, which, Negahban believes, was a depiction of the king; the following items were also found: two ceramic male and female figurines (527, Table 11) forming long-spouted vessels from their arms to their chests; a large bronze human figurine with a conical hair-style (or cap); red-burnished zoomorphic vessels, specifically in the forms of an antelope and a chariot with horses; various golden ornaments; etc. A complex consisting of a grave of Type I, XX H–XXI H, should also be mentioned, where, among other materials, the following are represented: a golden unicorn vase (in two registers), the fanciful forms of which are reminiscent of the fantastic animals sometimes found on Sialk B pottery [527, Fig. 109]; a silver beaker depicting a warrior in short clothing with a cone-shaped hair-style or helmet and (on the other side) a mountain ram on the sacred tree – a local variant of a widespread Assyrian motif [527, Figs. 104–5]; a dagger with a bronze blade decorated with grooves filled in with lapis lazuli and with a marble handle covered with a sheath of gold and inlaid with gold, lapis lazuli, and a green stone (48 cm long) [527, Fig. 48], and a mosaic vase composed of tiny pieces of white and blue stone, a typical Assyrian work [527, Fig. 106].

The finds from the cemetery at Marlik are substantially more abundant than the material which has been published as of now, but even the list which has been cited above of the contents of several graves bespeaks the extraordinary wealth of the burial goods. In particular, the gold and silver vessels with images of real and fabulous animals are exceptional. Some general technical methods of execution are characteristic of almost all of these vessels: *repoussé* from the interior, by which both high and low reliefs were achieved; a special tracing of dotted lines and of notching for depicting wool and manes; and an emphasis on musculature by broad circular puncheons. These together with shared ornamental motifs (complex rosettes decorating the bottoms of almost all the vessels; guilloche designs, sometimes of a relief nature along the edges of the rims; etc.) testify to the existence of a unified school of artisans in toreutics. At the same time, the depictions on the vessels have very diverse sources.

All the objects from Marlik are either local or imported from Assyria, Elam or Mitanni. Thus, for instance, the seals found in Marlik are either Mitannian cylinder seals (the majority from the fifteenth to the eleventh centuries, or Assyrian examples from the twelfth to the ninth centuries (one of the cylinder seals contains traces of cuneiform signs which, according to Cameron, are from a time no earlier than Adadnirari I), or, alternatively, they are local seals made of frit, gypsum, stone of various types, and gold [527b:81–102].

Some scholars assume that Marlik, like Kaluraz, characterized the culture of the tribe of Mards [341a]. According to Negahban, "a great and united civilization must have existed in the Gilan and Mazanderan area which had close contacts with neighboring states and which, according to our present knowledge, reached to Kashan in the south, to Luristan in the south west and the Caucasian area in the north" [527:37]. The royal cemetery at Marlik, which, Negahban concluded, had been used over the course of two to three centuries (the end of the second and beginning of the first millennia B.C.; the periods of Iron Ages I–II), must have been, in his opinion, situated near some extremely important settlement which served as the center of a strong state that had spread its dominant influence to Gilan, Mazanderan and southern Azerbaijan (the region of Lake Urmia). This state gradually declined at the beginning of the first millennium B.C., most likely under Assyrian pressure, and "finally the remnants of these people were driven to the central part of the Iranian plateau leaving evidence at such sites as Sialk Cemetery B and some of the tombs of Luristan" [527:38].

If one recalls that the Sialk B cemetery had already long ago been associated with the Iranians [see for instance 306a], then it will become clear that the impressive theory offered by Negahban implicates those very Iranian tribes that created a "great and united civilization" in this vast region already as early as the end of the second millennium B.C. (Iron Age I). It seems, however, that the links with the center of the plateau, and even with Luristan, that were noted by Negahban are too tenuous to reach such a conclusion. The gold and silver vessels of Marlik (Negahban and other scholars appeal to this evidence) can of course be attributed to some local school of master craftsmen whose works, however, were found not only in Gilan (Amlash, Marlik, Kaluraz) but also in southern Azerbaijan and other sites in northwestern Iran.

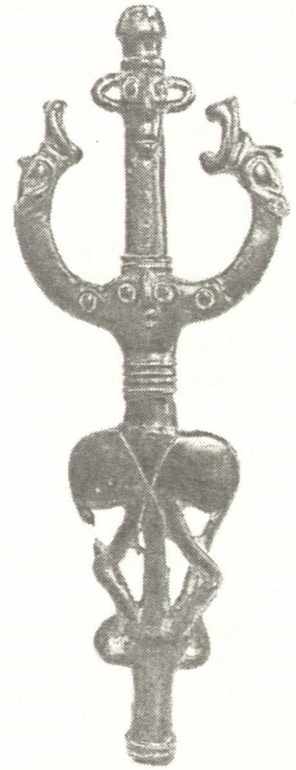
When speaking of an important political union at the beginning of the first millennium in the previously mentioned areas (and the material enables us to date Marlik and, even more so, Kaluraz from the ninth and even the beginning of the eighth centuries B.C.), we must above all recall Manna (Dyson also considered Hasanlu V–IV to be one of the centers of the Mannean state). It is possible that we are dealing here specifically with Mannean master craftsmen. But, though we lack conclusive data for earlier periods, the basic population of Manna at the beginning of the first millennium was chiefly Hurrian (including even the Mannean chiefs, who bore Hurrian names). Manna is well known as a separate kingdom at least from the ninth century B.C. while apparently it still continued to exist as dependent from Media even up to the beginning of the sixth century. It is possible, rather, to seek candidates for the creation of the "royal necropolis" in Marlik specifically among the Mannean Hurrian chiefs. However, an Iranian-speaking population was also represented in these regions in the ninth century B.C.. which perhaps also explains the "Iranian" interpretation of some of the Marlik objects (*cf.* below).

Marlik is an outstanding example of a case in which it is possible to seek (albeit hypothetically) some Iranian traits within what was in all probability a foreign-speaking culture.

Luristan

The culture of Luristan is famous above all for its "Luristan bronzes": votive objects, arms and horse harnesses. Such objects were initially found during treasure-hunting excavations as early as in the 1920s, but only recently, after the work of the Belgian expedition of Vanden Berghe in the area of Pusht-i Kuh, have archaeologists succeeded in determining their absolute dates. The Bard-i Bal cemetery (Pusht-i Kuh, 54 km southeast of the city of Ilam, which was excavated in 1970) and Kutal-i Gulgul (also southeast of Ilam) both date from the Iron Age I–II periods, while War-Kabud and Bani Surmah both date from the Iron Age III period. In addition, the Belgian expedition excavated several more necropolises and conducted detailed archaeological surveys of the entire area [700b].

An interest in the culture of Luristan emerged at the end of the 1920s. It is said that in 1928 a strange bronze object – an "idol" with the body of a man intertwined with fantastic beasts – appeared in one of the shops in a village near the city of Harsin. The object had been found by a nomadic Lur, who had offered it to a local merchant for several flat cakes. When they appeared in Europe, such "idols" evoked unprecedented interest among antiquarians and enthusiasts for antiquity, which led to widespread clandestine excavations. Art-lovers and the museums of Teheran, Paris, London and Brussels were attracted by the unique plasticity of forms, originality, and "primitiveness," combined with the ultramodern style of these strange "idols" and beasts, and bought up hundreds of these "Luristan bronzes" which had been found as a result of these excavations or which had been cleverly forged. And the scholars, who perceived in these bronzes relics of a totally unknown culture connected either with Elam, Assyria, the Hittites, or with the Caucasus (there were even works



5 Bronze "idol". Luristan, 9th–8th centuries B.C., State Hermitage Museum, Leningrad.

that linked the "Luristan bronzes" with bronzes of the Tagar culture in the Minusinsk depression of Siberia), attempted to determine the dates of these objects but were soon convinced that almost all necropolises had been totally plundered by uncontrolled excavations, while the ceramics and other "common" materials were destroyed since they found scarcely any market.

Now, after excavations have been carried out and a study of the collections made [see 184a; 516a], the so-called "typical Luristan bronzes" can be distinguished (in contrast to the numerous bronze objects of the third millennium to sixth century B.C., which have been found in Luristan) by their original forms and iconography, which are characteristic compared with all the remaining materials.

Bronze ritual axes with spiked butts and blades set at 90 degrees to the handle or so arranged as to make them impossible to use in daily life, were often decorated with cast figures of people or beasts and represent totally original items. Inscriptions with the name of the Elamite king Shilhak-

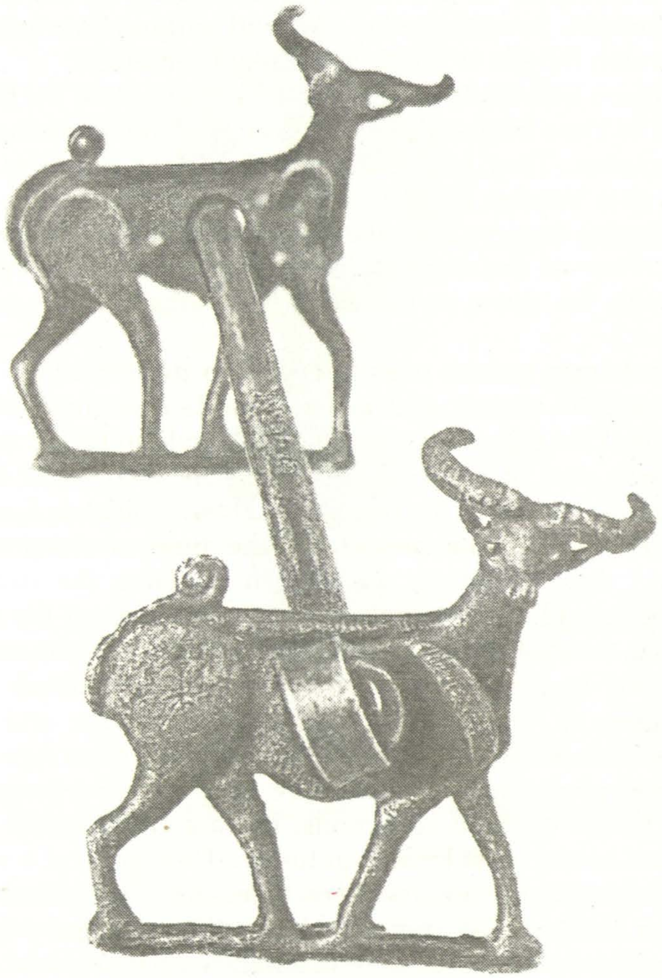
Inshushinak (*c.*1150–1120 B.C.) and the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar I (1126–1105 B.C.) [235a] are found on two such axes from the collection of Mokhsen Foroughi. Several similar axes, but without inscriptions, were found by Vanden Berghe at the Kutal-i Gulgul cemetery.

Bronze daggers with blade and hilt cast in a single piece, the hilt flanged to take wood or bone inlays, and with a wedge-shaped pommel, are also typical of Luristan. They have been found in large numbers in all the necropolises that Vanden Berghe excavated (often there were several in one grave). Similar daggers have also been encountered in Hasanlu V and Tepe Giyan. One of the daggers (in a private collection) contains an inscription with the name of the Babylonian king Marduk-nadin-ahhe (1100–1083 B.C.).

Bronze whetstone sockets usually ended in the form of a goat with splendid horns, or a bird, and are yet another example of typically Luristan items. This type of whetstone with a golden socket ending in a lion's head was part of a buried ritual treasure discovered by archaeologists under the temple of the Elamite god Inshushinak in Susa (twelfth century B.C.). An Assyrian stele from the time of Ashurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.) depicts a king whose belt contains the two daggers described above and a whetstone socket in the form of the head of a horned animal. A set of objects consisting of a pair of daggers and a socket for a whetstone was often found in the graves of Luristan. All these objects, judging by the inscriptions on them and the archaeological context, date from the twelfth to the ninth centuries (Iron Age I).

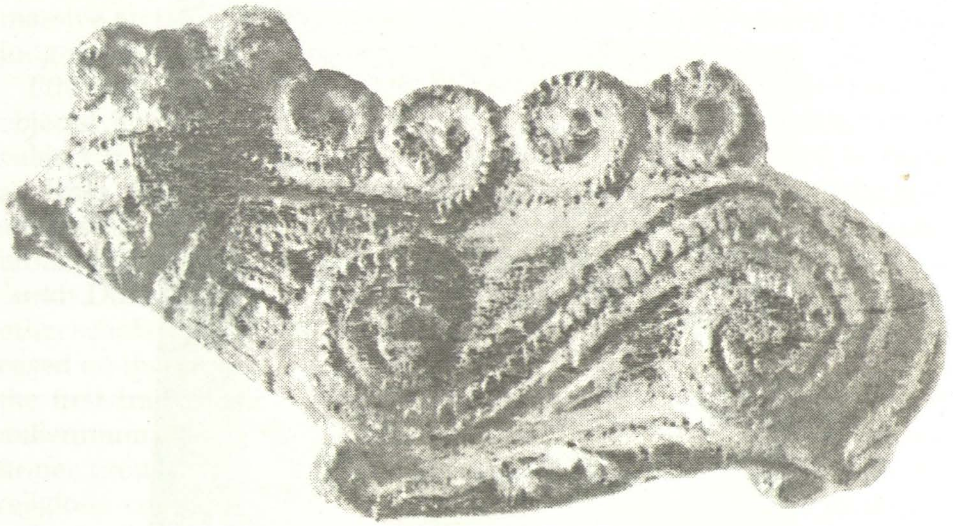
Bronze cheekpieces with a distinctive shape are particularly richly represented in the Luristan collections, but are characteristic of a later period of the Luristan cast bronze industry. They present a monstrous mixture of iconographic images: here there are cheekpieces executed completely in the Assyrian style (similar to those images depicted, for instance, on the Sennacherib relief); others with images of local and Elamite deities; and, finally, cheekpieces presenting images of beasts – moufflons, horses, "unicorns" (similar to those depicted on the metallic vessels from Marlik), recumbent deer, and even elk. "Of all these motifs only the cheekpiece in the form of a horse is so far known outside the Zagros and none has yet been found in controlled excavations in Persia" [516a:115]. Such cheekpieces have been found on Assyrian reliefs in Nimrud (time of Sennacherib), at Lindos, on Samos (a layer from the eighth and seventh centuries), and in other places, but the center of their production was, without doubt, Luristan [516a:115]. The technical methods (casting by the lost wax process, working with a chisel) illustrate the approximate contemporaneity of their manufacture, but at the same time point to older traditions of craftsmanship.

In addition to the Assyrian, Elamite and other images on the bronze



6 Bronze bit and cheekpiece. Luristan, 9th–8th centuries B.C., Museum of the Art of the Peoples of the East, Moscow.

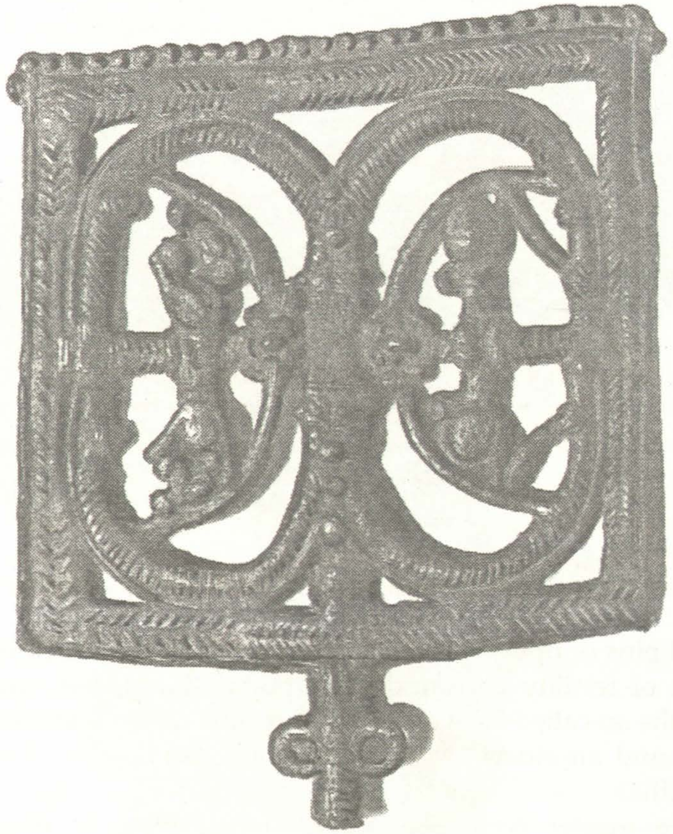
cheekpieces from Luristan of this time, there are depictions of fantastic creatures, demons, and anthropomorphic deities that have no iconographic parallels beyond the borders of Luristan. The individual features that make up these compositions, which, as a rule, are hybrid, have a lengthy history of development in Luristan and in neighboring territories (first and foremost in Elam). The most characteristic of these are the so-called "master of animals" idols – finials in the shape of a hybrid image of an anthropomorphic deity interwoven with beasts of prey, fantastic beasts, and birds – and those of female goddesses with the heads of birds of prey growing out of the shoulders. No less typical are the rather large



7 Bronze cheekpiece. Luristan, 9th–8th centuries B.C., Archaeological Museum, Teheran.

disc-bladed pins or open-work pinheads representing a mother–goddess or goddess of fertility surrounded by beasts, birds, fish, plants, and, finally, by the so-called Zurvan, a polymorphic deity combining features of a youth and an elderly man. All of these are images of exclusively Luristan deities.

Thus, the master craftsmen of Luristan, having at their disposal thousands of years of traditions and considerable skills in bronze metallurgy, manufactured different items for various clients, among whom were kings, petty rulers, and the chiefs of great and small tribes of various ethnic backgrounds. The people who manufactured these objects, and placed them in the necropolises that were situated near rivers and streams and at sites which are still even today considered sacred, lived in the Iron Age I–III periods, probably comparatively recently; they were nomads who tended their flocks in summer pastures in the mountains and in winter pastures in the valleys and who engaged in farming. They lived in portable tents; however, their settlements have also been found, especially near revered shrines, as, for instance, at Surkh Dum [625:205–16]. In the Iron Age I and II periods they buried their dead in vast necropolises; the graves in these necropolises were cists, faced with stone and covered with stone slabs, or "stone boxes" (the walls of the grave were made from stone slabs that were standing vertically). In these graves they placed bronze weapons, bronze votive objects and ornaments, and ceramic vessels (for the Iron Age I and II periods these vessels were grey or red) along with the dead. In the Iron Age III period the graves were



8 Bronze end of a standard. Luristan, 9th–8th centuries B.C., State Hermitage Museum, Leningrad.

simple irregularly-shaped pits, carelessly edged with stones, or circular pits which were made of stone and covered with slabs of sandstone. Crude hand-made buff ceramics or fine grey ceramics, sometimes decorated with "triangles" (along the shoulders of the pots), were characteristic of the interments of this time. Zoomorphic vessels in the shape of bulls, and from time to time, glazed Elamite and Assyrian ceramics, have also been observed. These graves already contained many iron weapons, and axe-adzes with human heads in relief decorating the shaft-hole have been encountered. It was precisely in one such grave that a votive "idol" of a type characteristic of "Luristan bronzes" was found for the first time in a controlled archaeological excavation [700b:91, Fig. 12].

It would seem that even a brief description of the Iron Age I–II sites nevertheless shows diversity rather than a "striking unity" in the archaeological culture of the region at this time. The ceramics and the

variety of types of cemetery testify to the same thing. Apparently, the massive archaeological materials do not provide an opportunity to pass judgment simply as to the ethnicity of its bearers.

Ethnicity can be determined more definitively from representative objects; however, proof of the objectivity of the interpretation of the subject matter or of individual images is the chief difficulty in these analyses. For instance, the images of birds and beasts, real and fabulous, and also of various deities on ritual objects from Luristan – in particular on bronze belts and on silver, gold and bronze plaques, and votive pins from Surkh Dum – are interpreted by Ghirshman, Vanden Berghe and some other scholars in reference to the Avestan myths. Such an interpretation is based on the same assumption that is held for western Iran; namely, that the first Iranian tribes appeared in Luristan at the end of the second millennium B.C. Upon analysis of such objects, we find ourselves on firmer ground and it is possible to compare specific images – with the religious concepts of the Iranian tribes, for instance – and to seek a reflection in the materials of at least some of these concepts. However, it must be emphasized that at such an early stage of interpretation of these Iranian materials we are still speculating about the unknown.

Indeed, almost nothing is known about the beliefs of the early Iranians, about their customs or about their rites. One can reconstruct for the period of Achaemenid rule, or for a time on which the written sources cast a reasonable amount of light, some aspects of the ideology of this realm, or more precisely (for the present) of the ideology of the ruling dynasty. But even in this case many details remain dimly illumined. Interpretation can sometimes only begin on such an unstable foundation; and in this case the supporting arguments sometimes rest on data about Iranian religion that are removed from the period under consideration by more than a millennium.

Thus, for instance, the bronze umbo of a shield from Luristan that dates from the eighth to the seventh centuries B.C. depicts two anthropomorphic figures as if they were growing out of the head or shoulder of a deity. Such a motif also occurs on the "Luristan bronzes," a portion of which were also discovered in Surkh Dum; these show a procession of elders with flowers or bundles of twigs in their hands, and they are sometimes depicted as moving toward one of the figures, while a procession of youths moves toward the other. It would be tempting to suggest that we have here before us an image of the Iranian god Zurvan, a deity of eternal time similar to Kronos; but traces of the cult of Zurvan have been preserved only in religious texts dating from the third to ninth centuries A.D. In early Sasanid times (third to fourth centuries A.D) Zurvanism was one of the sects of Zoroastrianism; it had its own priests, followers and, obviously, its own literature. But at that time this movement was linked only with various philosophical currents, with orthodoxy in religion, and with "elevated" theological arguments. We do not know of any images whatsoever even for later periods that were linked with this cult, which in turn, was removed from the "Luristan bronzes" by a millennium and a half. Rather, it was precisely this teaching of Zurvanism that Plutarch meant when he referred to the "teaching of the Magi," and, thus, it is most likely that this philosophical discussion in Zoroastrianism could be attributed to as early as the late Achaemenid period (Plutarch refers to Theopompos who wrote in the fourth century B.C.). But even this comparison can scarcely be of help, and hence the interpretation of the motifs of this series of "Luristan bronzes" depends only on the audacity of the scholar and his tastes.

This observation also applies to many other works of art, for instance the Luristan plate from the Museum of Cincinnati (USA), which has been interpreted in that same spirit and on which, in the opinion of Ghirshman, the god Zurvan is depicted surrounded by boys, men, and elders; the same scholar linked the "idols" with the cult of the Zoroastrian deity Sraosha [317:100–1, Tables 3, 4 (2)]. This Iranian interpretation has been suggested more than once for other works of art dating from the Iron Age I–II periods.

Thus, the depictions on the most famous masterpiece from this period, namely, the illustrious golden bowl found by Dyson in Burned Building II in Hasanlu, have been regarded as illustrations of Avestan myths, linked with the goddess Anahita or "a female version of the story of Etana" [249:149]. Attempts to find Iranian features in the depictions on this bowl have essentially been undertaken under the influence of the general idea of the ethnic changes lying at the base of the "archaeological revolution." (In terms of the iconography of its components – *e.g.* the depiction of the swords – the bowl must be dated *c.*1100 B.C., whereas the level in which it was found dates from the tenth and ninth centuries B.C. [572:96–102; 500:72–87].) Furthermore, in terms of a number of components (the guilloche, etc.), the bowl can be related to the metal vessels from Marlik. One of the depictions on the bowl – a bird carrying a naked woman – resembles a similar image on a silver Iranian dish from the fifth and sixth centuries A.D.

At the same time, it was precisely the circumstances surrounding the discovery of this bowl which manifestly demonstrated that it represented a cultic (or, at any rate, especially revered) object that was kept in the temple or in the palace of the ruler of Hasanlu; this context alone makes it difficult to interpret the object as Iranian. And, indeed, what kind of Iranian depictions could one imagine on a vessel of the eleventh century, and what kind of cults could have been disseminated in a center with a Hurrian-speaking or Zagros–Elamite population of the tenth and ninth centuries B.C.? At that time, Hasanlu was almost certainly one of the centers of Manna: an inscription found in Burned Building II on a stone bowl mentions, for instance, the "palace of the country of Idi" [255, Fig. 9]. However, it is still impossible to conclude from this fact that Idi was specifically the country of Hasanlu: the object was found in a complex with a golden bowl and other ancient objects and could have been imported from far away. The only possible Iranian interpretation for some non-Iranian images would relate to those deities that are also referred to by bilingual names (Bagbartu, Bag-Teshup, Parni Aldi); however, this evidence comes from a much later period [24:302–5].

Nevertheless, the studies that have investigated the Hasanlu bowl in detail [572; 500] have pointed to numerous iconographic and compositional parallels for the scenes on the bowl in the Hittite reliefs of Malatya and Arslan Tash Tepe, in Old Assyrian and Babylonian seals (including the one for the naked goddess as well) [see 572:99], etc. All the scenes on the bowl were interpreted beyond doubt as illustrations of Hurrian myths (preserved in the Hittie transmission as "Divine Kingdom" and "Song of Ullikummi"), where the son of the god Anu, the dragon-fighter Kumarbi, appears as the chief hero.

However, it is precisely this bowl from Hasanlu that makes it possible to analyze a series of masterpieces of toreutics whose technique and style testify to a new local school and to a major artistic center formed in northwestern Iran in the Iron Age I period. This center, or school, which was inspired by iconographic works of art from Assyria, Syria, Asia Minor and Elam, initially demonstrated its originality only in the style of the images, in the technical methods of the master craftsmen, and in details that did not relate to the basic content of the compositions. Until that time all the earliest works of this school were to be found in the historical region of Manna (a region of which the first written evidence was found in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser III, from the sixties to the thirties of the ninth century B.C.), and, apparently, we are correct in identifying these as works of Mannean toreutics. In essence, metal vessels at this time were works as prestigious for the local kings as the "monumental art" of the sovereigns of Assyria or Elam: the local deities and heroes were proclaimed on the former, just as, most likely, they were on the latter. Gold and silver vessels remained basic prestige objects over the course of many centuries.

Attempts to discover an Iranian interpretation for representations on these more recent works of art, which have been presented through the utilization of older images, are, of course, not hopeless. However, one must keep in mind that such hypotheses would be all the more likely if these older images had been less connected with each other. In other words, it is possible to assume that the Iranian artistic language could have used foreign-language ideograms, but, in this case, the works of art in question would have required ideograms that did not constitute connected texts; otherwise, they would have been foreign-language texts. The Hasanlu bowl is precisely one of those examples where there is no need to seek an Iranian interpretation for images connected with Hurrian myths.

One of the patterns where such an attempt would seem possible is that of a gold vase with the "life story of a mountain she-goat," found in Marlik in a grave on the slope of a hill (square VI B) [527, Fig. 113, Table 4]. The depictions on the vase are arranged in four registers. To be more precise, there is no "life story of a mountain (she)-goat" on the bowl: all three compositions where "goats" can be seen represent different animals. The lower register shows a mountain goat feeding a kid; in reality it is a small fallow deer sucking its mother's milk with the latter's head turned towards it (repeated five times on the bowl). Such themes can often be met with on works of art from the Ancient Near East, mainly on seals (the earliest depiction dates from the seventeenth century B.C.). However, a strict analogue with a depicted fallow deer can be found only on incised ivory panels from the Abbeg museum. They seem to have belonged to the well-known Ziwiye treasure; at any rate they do not differ from it in style or technique. A gazelle with a kid can be seen on only three panels [729:29–30, Figs. 10a–b]. Two of them (from the Abbeg collection) depict ruminant mountain goats (looking to the right) and a gazelle with its head turned to a kid sucking milk. The third one (the Metropolitan Museum) represents the same motif, but the animals are looking to the left, and the gazelle's kid is bending its forelegs [729a:233]. Not only the composition but also stylistic details (outlined shoulder area, ribs, fur along the silhouette of the body) are similar to the first register of the bowl. The panel's dating depends primarily on the dating of the entire Ziwiye collection. Wilkinson dates the Ziwiye ivory to the post Tiglath-pileser III period [729:16]. Smaller stylistic features of some Marlik vessels uniting them with objects from Ziwiye have already been mentioned [572:133–4]. So the analogue of the first register was created not earlier than the late eighth century B.C.; the composition had been borrowed by the artisan from "local style" incised ivory panels from Ziwiye. The bowl should be dated after this register.

The second register shows two mountain (he)-goats with straight horns, near the sacred tree (repeated three times). This scene also has many analogues, primarily in ancient Mesopotamian glyptics. In the ninth to eighth centuries B.C. the motif occurred widely on the previously mentioned ivories and other objects; *e.g.* a blue vase fragment from Hasanlu IV [572]. Both the sacred tree and the same positioning of the goats can be seen on the lower frieze of a Luristan bronze quiver (the Metropolitan Museum) of the eighth to early seventh centuries B.C. [311, Fig. 91]. However, the closest representations of goats appear on a faience cylinder seal of the Middle Elamite period (*c.* thirteenth century B.C.) from Choga Zanbil [572: Fig. 30]. Though composed differently (with a winged lion and two goats), the same concept occurs on a golden vase from Amlash, which was exhibited in Paris in 1961–2. This vessel has been dated by Ghirshman to the ninth-eighth centuries B.C. or the same period that he proposed for all the vessels from Amlash [740: 14–15; pl. 6]. The sacred tree, the leaves of which are being eaten by the goats on the Amlash vessel, is undoubtedly Assyrian in origin (the eighth century B.C.). The style of the goats' bodies, their fur and the representation of their legs are all the same as those of the first register.

One can conclude that the closest parallels for the second register date from between the thirteenth and ninth centuries B.C.; that its style is not earlier than the late eighth century B.C.; and that the artisan had borrowed its composition from the cylinder seals which were widespread throughout northwestern Iran and the Caspian area in the eighth century B.C., and possibly also from the Amlash golden vessels.

Wolves(?) walking along in sequence, and a flying bird, appear in the third register. Finally, in the fourth and upper register the corpse of a mountain goat now grown old which was evidently ravaged by these wolves, is pecked at by two griffins. Once again the details betray the local style, but this motif often occurred as a secondary image (over the main scene) in Kassite glyptics (fourteenth to thirteenth centuries B.C.); on an Elamite cylinder seal found in Assur (thirteenth century B.C.); and on the stone Hittite reliefs of Karatepe in Cilicia. As Porada has established, this motif is linked with the symbolism of a battle that had been won, "a presage of good fortune in a battle" [572a:163–82]. It must be stressed that the images on all the registers were executed in the "Marlik style" by a local master craftsman who used several devices of the local school of toreutics specialists.

The representations on the fourth register had their iconographical analogues in the thirteenth to ninth centuries B.C. The composition used by the artisan had been borrowed either from Kassite cylinder seals or from silver *repoussé* (like others found somewhere in northwestern Iran) [572a:164, Figs. 1, 2]. The same sources, images and scene can be observed in the lower register of the Luristan bronze quiver (Barbier collection). Such quivers must be dated to the eighth to seventh centuries B.C. The artisan, like the artisan of our bowl, used mostly Mittanian and Middle Assyrian seals for representations in all five registers. Some of the representations on the quiver can also be compared to those on "Marlik style" vessels [516b:24, Fig. 5].

A strange figure was depicted over all the registers – "an embryo or a monkey," as Negahban called it [527:55]. "If this is an embryo," he noted, "it would indicate rebirth. If a monkey, it would be telling the story. It is common in the ancient fables of Iran for an animal, particularly a monkey, to tell the story."

Thus we have before us four diverse "quotations," or, more precisely, "retellings in their own words": that is, various images that belong to the complex symbolics of different religions (of Assyria, Elam, and of the Kassites and Hittites), and that were torn out of their contexts and joined together on one vessel by a local master craftsman in order to tell the story of life and death – a simple story devoid of any sophisticated symbolism and sense of separate phrases of which it consisted – in their own "mother-tongues." The idea of this "circulating fate" was extremely characteristic of both Iranian religious myths and Iranian folklore.

The artisan of the Marlik bowl had told his own story. He composed the register with wild boars or wolves himself; such animals probably occurred somewhere on objects from northwestern Iran, but only this bowl received a row of these animals with several vultures hovering over them. A monkey-like animal depicted between the vultures where the original Kassite composition would have had a fly was another characteristic feature of this particular bowl. That animal had been invented by the artisan and became something of a "phonetic complement to a foreign ideogram"; it linked all the "quotations" of different origins into one story. The artisan had no model for the animal; it had a human head, fur-covered body, strange paws, and a small tail. One of its paws touches the flower of the Late Assyrian sacred tree, with a design resembling that on the vultures' necks. Undoubtedly the animal has been conceived by the artisan's creative mind; it determines the limits of his creative abilities.

If one accepts such an explanation for the subject matter of the vase as an hypothesis, it is then possible to regard it as an example of the early period of Iranian art. It was created from diverse quotations torn out of context, and from elements of religious images of various ancient eastern civilizations that were reinterpreted and adapted by local master craftsmen for the illustration of their own myths or for images of their own deities.

The date of the vase which has been described has not been determined. It was found in a tomb of Type II (according to Negahban, a woman's tomb with one rounded wall), and no other material whatsoever from this grave has been published. Judging by the latest iconographic parallels, the vessel can be attributed to the ninth century B.C. (or even later).

Iranian features appear more clearly on art objects from later times (Iron Ages II–III). Thus, depictions of beasts executed in a style that was new to the region are encountered ever more frequently as early as the eighth century B.C. in the "Luristan bronzes." Of course, such depictions still cannot be described as being in the "animal" style, if this term is to be understood as a particular style of objects of applied art that was characteristic chiefly of the Scythians. Analogies with Scythian objects in this case are only iconographic, but one must note that it was specifically these images that appeared very early in Luristan and that subsequently constituted the triad of the "Scythian animal style": namely, images of a deer whose legs are doubled up under the body (a bronze cheekpiece, which, they contend, was from the eighth century B.C.) [322a:237, Fig. 151],[5] of a panther ready to jump (from the site settlement of Baba Jan Tepe; see below), and of the head of a griffin (for instance, the decorations on the butt of a bronze axe from the eleventh and tenth centuries B.C.) [739, No. 420]. But here they never appear as the leading motif in the figurative arts. For that epoch these simply represented items made "to order" (for instance, cheekpieces were made both for Assyrians and Elamites), and, in the case in question, possibly for an Iranian chieftain or warrior.

D IRAN FROM THE NINTH TO THE FIRST HALF OF THE SIXTH CENTURY B.C.

The Medes, who arrived on the plateau at the end of the second and beginning of the first millennia B.C., settled down in northwestern Iran. In the ninth century the Assyrians conducted campaigns into Median map 2 territory for the purpose of plundering the area [35:154ff and 194ff]. At this time the transition from primitive social to class relations had scarcely begun in northwestern Iran, and dozens of petty principalities existed in the area which united the Medes, as well as the autochthonous population of Qutian–Kassite origin. It is possible that relatively strong political power existed on the territory of present-day Gilan as far back as the end of the second and beginning of the first millennia B.C., when the objects excavated at Marlik were produced [527:38]. An Akkadian inscription from c.1000 B.C. has been found in Media; this inscription is engraved on both sides of a bronze plaque. The text is composed in the name of Shilisruh, the king of an unknown country, and it says that he had freed his subjects from certain deliveries in kind [371:239–46; 234a].

From the very beginning the Assyrians captured the western part of the Zagros, which they named Zamua (in modern-day Iraq) and transformed into a springboard for campaigns into Media. In the years 883–880 B.C. the Assyrians imposed taxes, consisting of cattle, horses and bronze vessels, on the regions around the western coast of Lake Urmia. In 881 B.C. the Lullubians of the region of Zamua rose up against Assyria. Cruel reprisals by the Assyrians followed, which destroyed many settlements; they

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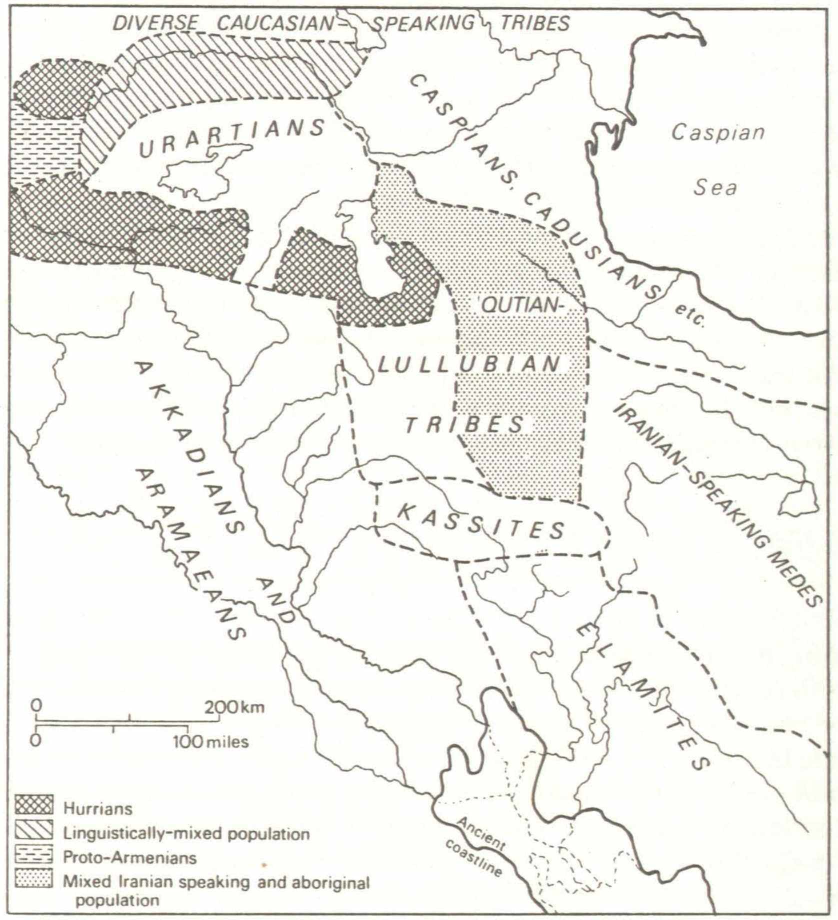
[5] It should be borne in mind, however, that this very motif, traced back to Mycenaean art, is typical of Greek geometric pottery of the eighth century B.C, and that Scythians could have borrowed the motif from the territory between the Caucasus and the Zagros. Thus, it might not be connected with Iranian culture [120a].



Map 2 Approximate distribution of settlements of ethnic groups, at the beginning of the first millennium B.C.

burned children in bonfires and took the adult population off into slavery. Assyrian garrisons were left in the country, although the local chiefs also retained their power. At the end of the ninth century the Assyrians conducted raids into Manna, which was situated to the west of Media. To a substantial extent, the population of this country was autochthonous Zagros–Elamite, or possibly Hurrian [60:11–12; 57; 467: 115ff; see 45 for information concerning the ethnic composition of the population, history, economic structure and religion of Manna]. Manna became a loyal ally of Assyria at the very end of the ninth century B.C., when it began to be threatened by the Urartians.

A protracted internal political crisis began in Assyria at the end of the ninth century B.C. The Urartians, who had inflicted a number of defeats on the Assyrians and had seized a portion of the territory of Manna and Parsua, made use of this crisis. Between 745 and 727 B.C. the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser III carried out military and administrative reforms, the most important of which was the creation of a standing army which was fully outfitted by the state. The policy in respect to neighboring countries was also altered. If in the past the Assyrians had conducted campaigns to the east only for the sake of plunder, now they began to resettle the vanquished population in other corners of the Assyrian realm; they settled tribes that were ethnically distinct in place of those who were driven out. They left the population of some regions in place and imposed heavy taxes, while the territory of such regions was included in Assyria proper. In 744 B.C. the Assyrians seized the region of Bit-Hamdan west of Media and then imposed a tax on the chiefs of the "country of the mighty Medes." In their campaigns the Assyrian army reached the center of the Iranian plateau, namely, Mount Bikni (Demavend near contemporary Teheran), and set up tribute from the Medes in horses, small livestock, up to 300 *talents* (nine tons) of lapis lazuli, and 500 *talents* (fifteen tons) of bronze items [35:196].

In 737 B.C. Tiglath-pileser III conducted a new campaign into Media, a report of which is contained on a stele of this king found in western Iran. In particular, this stele speaks of the fact that Iranzu, king of Manna, brought tribute to the Assyrian king in horses, cattle, etc. Gradually Manna was transformed into a major state which enjoyed the patronage of Assyria.

After the death of Iranzu, the king of Manna, his son Aza acceded to the throne. Aza was soon overthrown and killed by the Mannean governors. The Assyrian king Sargon II conducted a campaign into Manna and appointed Ullusunu, the brother of Aza, as king. But Ullusunu detached himself from Assyria and concluded an alliance with Urartu. Sargon II then returned to Izirtu, the capital of Manna, and took Ullusunu as prisoner, but nevertheless left him as king of this country. The Assyrians soon created three provinces to the east of their borders, one of which was called Madaj (Media).

In the second half of the eighth century B.C. Babylonia, which had struggled for its independence from the Assyrians, became an ally of Elam, which found itself drawn into continuous wars with Assyria. In 720 B.C. a bloody battle took place at the fortress of Der between the Elamites, who were commanded by their king Humban-nikash I, and the Assyrians. The chief of the Babylonians, Marduk-apla-iddina II (the Biblical Merodach-Baladan) deliberately appeared on the battlefield when the Assyrians, who had already been crushed, began to retreat. Humban-nikash died in 717 B.C., and his nephew Shutruk-Nahhunte II (717–699), who remained loyal to his military alliance with the Babylonians, seized the throne.

In 716 B.C. the Urartian king Rusa seized 22 Mannean fortresses and induced Daiaukku, the ruler of one of the Mannean regions, to fall away from Assyria. However, in 715 B.C. Daiaukku was taken captive by the Assyrians and exiled to the Syrian province of Hamath. In 715 Sargon II led a campaign against Urartu and passed through a substantial portion of this country, thereby inflicting total defeat on Rusa. Many scholars believe that Daiaukku was identical to the Deioces of Herodotus [383:1023]. According to Herodotus (I, 96–101), Deioces was at first elected a judge in his village and then made king of the Medes. After this he consolidated the Median tribes, ordered the construction of the city of Ecbatana and the royal palace, and, subsequently, freed the country from Assyrian domination. The identity of the names Daiaukku and Deioces, obviously, should not cause any doubt [630:145], but Diakonoff notes that Deioces was only one of many rulers of the Median provinces and that Herodotus, thinking him to be the founder of the Median state, oversimplified the events and transferred to him the activity of several generations of Median chiefs [35:179].

According to Grantovsky, Daiaukku ruled in one of the Mannean provinces (Misi) that was located, significantly, west of Media, and hence had nothing in common with Deioces, who emerged in Ecbatana and lived in the first half of the seventh century B.C. [24:249–51; 25:298–9). Melikishvili also believes that it is difficult to identify Daiaukku with Deioces, inasmuch as the former was the ruler of a rather small Mannean province near Assyria [59:170–1]. But apparently Melikishvili was not correct in thinking that the name Daiaukku was of Hurrian origin, since this name has now been attested to in different variants in the Persepolis Fortification texts and is in all likelihood of Iranian origin [630:138].

In 710 B.C. Sargon II invaded Elam and Shutruk-Nahhunte hid himself in the mountains. Marduk-apla-iddina was now no longer in a position to defend the Babylonian cities and fled south into the swampy portion of Babylonia.

After the death of Sargon II in 705 B.C., Marduk-apla-iddina concluded an alliance with all the potential enemies of Assyria. Elam, Judah and the Phoenician cities of Tyre, Arad and Askalon entered into this coalition. The Elamite king Shutruk-Nahhunte accepted lavish gifts of gold, silver and precious stones sent by Marduk-apla-iddina and placed at his disposal substantial assistance in terms of arms and troops, with the help of which Babylon was taken from the Assyrians. Meanwhile fierce battles between the Assyrian and Elamite armies developed, but Marduk-apla-iddina, true to his policy of avoiding decisive battles, shunned active participation in military activities. The Elamites suffered a defeat and fled back to their country, while Marduk-apla-iddina hid in swamps in the south of Babylonia that were inaccessible to the Assyrians.

In 700 B.C. the Elamites renewed their alliance with Marduk-apla-iddina. The Assyrian king Sennacherib moved against Marduk-apla-iddina, but the latter, fearing a clash with the main forces of the Assyrians, fled into a swampy region to the south of Elam. The Assyrian navy then set out in the direction of the estuary of the Kerkha river and the Assyrian warriors, who had disembarked on dry land, seized the coastal Elamite cities and then returned home with their booty. But the Elamite king Halludush-Inshushinak II (699–693 B.C.) responded to this with an unexpected raid on Babylonia from the north, captured Sippar and destroyed it, and then took captive Sennacherib's son, who was the governor of Babylonia, and placed the Babylonian Nergal-ushezib on the throne.

A year later, in 693 B.C., Sennacherib succeeded in inflicting a defeat on the joint forces of the Babylonians and Elamites at Nippur. Nergal-ushezib was taken prisoner, while the Elamite troops retreated to their own country. In that same year Halludush-Inshushinak was eliminated and Kutir-Nahhunte II came to power. He was killed in 692 B.C. as the result of a palace coup and his brother Humban-nimena II, who was called Menanu in the Assyrian texts, seized the throne.

The need to offer resistance to the Assyrian inroads hastened the process of uniting the petty Median principalities into a unified state. In this the Medes were also helped by the fact that the Assyrians were drawn into military actions in Babylonia and southwestern Iran.

In 692 B.C. the Babylonians, headed by their chief leader Mushezib-Marduk, rose up against the Assyrians, after having previously created a coalition of Babylonia and the Chaldean and Aramaic nomads on the frontiers of the Assyrian realm, as well as of Elam and all the tribes of the Zagros (Parsuash, Anzan, Ellipi, etc.). Thus the Persians entered on the side of the Elamite king against Assyria. The nucleus of the army of the allies consisted of Elamite and Iranian charioteers, infantry and cavalry. The combined forces of the Babylonian–Elamite coalition entered into a fierce battle with the Assyrians at Halule on the Tigris not far from the modern-day city of Samarra. The Assyrians were not victorious, but their opponents suffered such great losses that they were not in a position to take advantage of their success.

After two years, in April 689 B.C., Sennacherib, king of Assyria, aware of the fact that the Elamite king Humban-nimena II had been struck with paralysis, moved against Babylon and captured it in December of that same year. Soon after this it was necessary for the Assyrians again to concentrate their attention on the Median provinces that were subordinate to them. Moreover, the situation was complicated by the invasion of Cimmerian and Scythian tribes into territory controlled by the Assyrian empire. Inasmuch as these tribes played a large role in the history of the

Near East of the seventh century B.C., it will be appropriate here to dwell in more detail on their raids into West Asia.

The Cimmerians are mentioned in the Assyrian sources beginning at the end of the eighth century B.C. when they first appeared on the frontiers of the Assyrian empire [39:169–75; 71:232ff]. The Scythians then invaded West Asia soon after the Cimmerians. The Assyrians made a distinction between these peoples, calling them respectively Gimirri and Ishkuza [35:242]. The name Sakai was also known to the Assyrians. Thus, for instance, an inscription written around 640 B.C. mentions Tugdamme, the king of Umman-manda (according to Diakonoff this term referred to the Cimmerians), of the Sakai (in Diakonoff's opinion, these were the Scythians; the name itself, apparently, was adopted through a western Iranian intermediary) and of the Qutians (according to Diakonoff, the country of Gutium, *i.e.* Media, is meant here, whereas, according to Tadmor, it was Manna; Tadmor sees here a reference to the fact that Tugdamme also ruled over the Scythians, who were to be found in the province of Gutium) [90:241]. In the subsequent year, 639 B.C., Tugdamme was replaced by a new chieftain Shandakshatru, who began to threaten the northwestern borders of Assyria [90:241; *cf.* 209a:84].

The terms Ishkuza and Sakai were never used in the Babylonian texts even prior to the Achaemenids; in Persian times the name Gimirri, *i.e.* Cimmerians, was used to designate them. The reason for such widespread use of this ethnic name was both the tendency toward archaisms inherent in Babylonian literature and the fact that the Cimmerians were the first of all the nomadic tribes that made raids from the east to invade West Asia.

According to Herodotus (VII, 64), the Persians called the Scythian tribes by the name of Sakai. The Greeks themselves called the nomadic tribes of the steppes of southern Russia and Central Asia by the name of Scythians; as from all these tribes they had contacts first and foremost with the Scythians who lived along the northern Black Sea coast. In modern-day scholarly literature the ancient tribes of the northern and eastern regions of Central Asia and Eastern Turkestan are called Sakai, as distinct from the Massagetai of the Aral Sea littoral and the Scythians of the northern Black sea coast, who were kindred to them. A large number of these tribes spoke Iranian languages and were chiefly engaged in the raising of nomadic livestock.

In contrast to the Cimmerians, who in the last decades of the eighth century B.C. moved in a direction from the northern Black Sea along the western Caucasus into Asia Minor, the Scythians made inroads there at the beginning of the seventh century B.C. and made their way along the coast of the Caspian Sea. A portion of the Scythian tribes settled down in the region of Sakasene (which obtained its name on the basis of its new settlers) in the Trancaucasus, forming their own kingdom there [35:250–1]. From this region the Scythians made raids into Urartu, Assyria, and according to a report by Herodotus (I, 105), between 630 and 620 B.C. they reached the borders of Egypt after they had plundered Syria and Palestine. The Egyptian pharaoh Psammetichus I came to meet the Scythians half-way, and, bearing gifts, persuaded them not to invade his country. Ethnically and linguistically, the Scythians and Cimmerians were kindred groups (both peoples spoke Old Iranian dialects), and, as Diakonoff has noted, the Assyrians, not to mention the Babylonians, did not always clearly distinguish one from the other [35:242; *cf.* 5].

Over the course of a long period of time the Cimmerians were to be found in the country of Gimirra, which was apparently in the eastern portion of Cappadocia, and in the country of Manna [71:233; 67:172; 58:61–2]. Around 715 B.C. the Cimmerians defeated the Urartian King Rusa I and seized the eastern province of Asia Minor. Midas, the king of Phrygia, fearing a Cimmerian invasion, sought help from Assyria and in the year 709 sent a legation to Sargon II. During the reign of Esarhaddon (680–669 B.C.) the Cimmerians began to threaten the borders of Assyria (although it is possible, as Diakonoff is inclined to assume, that in the inquiries of Esarhaddon to the oracle of the god Shamash concerning the threat of the Cimmerians they had the Scythians in mind when mention was made of the Cimmerians [*cf.* 275a:9ff]).

In 679 B.C. the Cimmerians, headed by their chieftain Teushpa, invaded Assyria, but the Assyrians managed to gain a victory over them. Around 676 B.C. the Assyrians completed a campaign up to the country of Patusharri (*i.e.* Greek Pateischoreis; Patishhvar of early medieval sources) and reached the Caspian littoral, thereby achieving the most distant limits of their conquests in the East. But soon thereafter circumstances began to alter unfavourably for Assyria. Around 675 B.C. the Cimmerians crushed the Phrygian kingdom in Asia Minor and again began to threaten Assyria [58:314ff]. Meanwhile, many provinces of Media ceased to pay tribute to Assyria. Three Median chieftains arrived in Nineveh, coming before Esarhaddon with gifts and with a request for aid against the local inhabitants, who had risen up in rebellion. These chieftains were Uppis of Partakka, Zanasana of Partukka and Ramataia from Urukazabarna (districts in Media, the exact locations of which have still not been established). Esarhaddon succeeded in restoring the authority of these chieftains. Striving to gain a foothold in the northwestern provinces of Iran, Esarhaddon was forced in 672 B.C. to conclude a treaty with the rulers of these territories, which were subject to Assyria. The treaty guaranteed to the local governors the retention of authority over the territories in their own provinces under the condition of their loyalty to the Assyrian king and to his heir, Assurbanipal [*Vassal-treaties*, pp. 29ff].

In the same year the Medes, supported by the Cimmerians and Scythians, rebelled against Assyria. The uprising was headed by one of the Median chieftains, Kashtariti (possibly the son of Deioces). But soon thereafter Esarhaddon succeeded in persuading the Scythians to detach themselves from those who had risen up in rebellion, by handing over his own daughter for marriage with the Scythian chieftain Partatua (the Protothyes of Herodotus). The inquiry by Esarhaddon to the god Shamash with a request that he say whether Partatua would remain loyal to the alliance if the Assyrian king married off a princess, his daughter, to him, has been preserved [Knudtzon, No. 29]. In the Assyrian sources Partatua was called "the king of the country of Ishkuza." This kingdom was situated in Median territory (the Sakasene of the Greek authors) and later on became an ally of Assyria.

But the Medes continued their struggle and were able to achieve independence after expelling the Assyrians from the provinces of Bit-kari, Madaj and Saparda [35:272–4]. Kashtariti started out at the head of this kingdom. In his narrative of the events of this time, Herodotus (I, 102) does not mention Kashtariti at all, thinking that the organizer of the campaign against Assyria had been Phraortes. But Cameron has pointed out that these two individuals were identical.

Since there cannot be any confusion in the Akkadian sources that were synchronous to the Median uprising concerning the name of the chieftain of the Medes, we must assume that it was Herodotus who created this confusion. Cameron and Diakonoff have convincingly identified the reason for this error by Herodotus [186:177; 35:275–6; *cf.*, however, 351a:85–6]. According to the Behistun inscription, when Darius became king a certain Frawartish stirred up a rebellion in Media and passed himself off as Khshathrita from the clan of Huwakhshatra, *i.e.* Cyaxares. In the Assyrian sources Kashtariti corresponds to the Median name Khshathrita, while in Herodotus Phraortes corresponds to Frawartish. Evidently Herodotus had confused the actual name of the impostor with the name under which this pretender went, assuming that Phraortes, and not Khshathrita, was in the clan of Median kings.

Around 672 B.C. the Medes created their own state, which, in fact, still did not include all the Median provinces. Kashtariti–Phraortes gradually began to unite all the Median tribes, thereby eliminating petty principalities. As Diakonoff has pointed out, one letter from the Assyrian royal archives, which dates from a time between 672 and 669 B.C. [Waterman, No. 434], mentions Media along with Urartu, Manna and Hubushkia as an independent kingdom, while in the period between 669 and 552 B.C., Media is mentioned among the *de facto* independent states which the Assyrians still considered to be their territories in formal terms [35:274, with reference to AVIU No. 71].

By this time the Cimmerians, who had put an end to the Phrygian kingdom even earlier, began to threaten other states in Asia Minor as well. Around 660 B.C. the kings of Lydia, Cilicia and Tabal (in southeastern Asia Minor) appealed for help to Assyria, which at that time was itself also very worried about the Cimmerian threat to its borders. A message from the Lydian king Gyges (Gugu of the cuneiform sources) reached Nineveh and was translated for Assurbanipal [646, 2:156]. After repulsing the onslaught of the Cimmerians with the assistance of the Assyrians, Gyges sent to Assurbanipal gifts and two Cimmerian chieftains who had been put into fetters after having been captured. But then Gyges entered into an alliance with the Egyptian pharaoh Psammetichus, who rebelled against Assyria in 664 B.C.

Soon after this, however, the Cimmerians, headed by their chieftain Lygdamis (Tugdamme of the Assyrian sources), again attacked Lydia, which now of course could no longer count on the help of Assyria, and between 657 and 654 B.C. Gyges himself (according to Assurbanipal's graphic description, "this broken walking-stick"), who had not obtained help from Egypt, perished in battle [35:284; 202:142]. But around 639 B.C. the Scythians, headed by their chieftain Madyas, the son of Protothyes, invaded Cappodocia and inflicted a defeat on the Cimmerians there. Soon after this the Scythians conducted a raid up to the borders of Egypt. The new king of Lydia, Ardys, the son of Gyges, renewed the alliance with Assyria that had been broken by his father.

By the middle of the seventh century B.C., Media, along with Elam, Assyria, Urartu and Manna, had become a major state. In 653 B.C. the Median king Khshathrita (or, according to Herodotus, Phraortes) undertook a campaign against Assyria. But at this time the Scythians, who were the allies of Assyria, attacked the Medes. The latter suffered a defeat, not having been able to endure a struggle on two fronts. Khshathrita perished in combat, and in the years 653–624 B.C. the Scythians held dominion in Media. Assyria had now obtained the opportunity once again to set out against her enemies in Babylonia and southwestern Iran.

Prior to his death in 669 B.C. Esarhaddon had divided the Assyrian realm between his two sons: Assurbanipal began to rule Assyria, while Shamash-shum-ukin ruled Babylonia with the rights of a vassal king. In May 652 B.C. the latter rose up in rebellion, after having previously established secret ties with the Elamite king Humban-nikash II, the Egyptian pharaoh, the Arabian tribes of the Syrian steppe, the rulers of the Syrian cities, and the chieftains of the Chaldean tribes in the south of Babylonia. But the Assyrians succeeded in crushing the Babylonian–Elamite forces near the fortress of Der. Assurbanipal then started an intrigue, and in 652 B.C. Humban-nikash was eliminated by means of a palace coup. In the summer of 648 B.C. Babylon fell. Assurbanipal now concentrated all his forces against Elam. In 646 B.C. the Assyrians inflicted a crushing defeat on Elam and seized Susa [the dating follows Tadmor: 90:241; other scholars attribute the capture of Susa to 642 or 639 B.C.]. The independence of Elam thereby came to an end.

After this Cyrus I, the king of Parsumash (Persis), sent his son as a hostage to Nineveh. One inscription of Assurbanipal reports as follows: "Kurash, the king of the country of Parsumash, has heard of my mighty victory, which I . . . gained over Elam. He sent Arukku, his elder son, with his tribute to Nineveh, my capital city, in order to declare his obedience" [708:1ff]. A seal with the Elamite legend, "Cyrus from Anshan, the son of Chishpish," has also been preserved from Cyrus I. The seal depicts a mounted horseman who is striking down an enemy with his spear, while two other foes are already lying felled beneath his horse [384:300].

It would appear that the position of Assyria had been consolidated: its mighty enemy Elam had been smashed and peace had been established on the borders of the Assyrian empire. But this was merely a calm before the storm. The disintegration of the Assyrian empire began around 630 B.C. when its individual centers began to compete and to struggle with each other [90:241]. An uprising against Assyrian hegemony flared up in Babylonia in 626 B.C. Nabopolassar, the Assyrian governor of the Sealand (the marshy region of southern Babylonia), decided that the time had come to renew the struggle of the Babylonians against Assyria. He began to act as an independent king and renewed the traditional alliance of the Chaldean tribes of southern Babylonia with Elam. In November 626 B.C. Nabopolassar was officially acknowledged in Babylon as "king of Akkad" (the traditional name for northern Babylonia) and founded a new Chaldean, or Neo-Babylonian, dynasty.

However, a long and fierce war with the Assyrians still lay before him. After a series of victories won in southern Babylonia, the army of Nabopolassar in 616 B.C. made its way up along the Euphrates to the Khabur river and then pressed back the Assyrians to the mouth of the Balikh river. Now almost all the territory of Babylonia was in the hands of Nabopolassar. His successes created a sense of anxiety in the Egyptian pharaoh Psammetichus I, who feared the excessive strength of Babylonia. Hence he was ready to conclude a military alliance with the Assyrians, from whose yoke Egypt was freed only in 655 B.C. But the Egyptians were in no position to render rapid assistance to the Assyrians, while in 616 B.C. the Babylonians besieged the Assyrian capital of Assur. This siege was unsuccessful and the Babylonians retreated from the city with great losses. But soon after this a crushing blow came down upon Assyria from the East.

In 625 B.C. the Median king Cyaxares (Huwakhshatra in Median), the son of Phraortes–Khshathrita (according to Herodotus the grandson of Deioces), inflicted a defeat on the Scythians, who had invaded Media in the first decades of the seventh century, and ultimately united all the Median tribes into a unified state with a capital in Ecbatana. Subsequently Cyaxares created a strong regular army, after reorganizing it according to types of weapons (lance-bearers, bowmen and cavalry) in place of the former militia which was structured according to tribal principles [35:295]. Now the Medes could turn against their age-old enemy Assyria, which had already been waging war with Babylonia for more than ten years. In 614 B.C. the Medes, headed by Cyaxares, seized the Assyrian province of Arrapha and then moved in the direction of Nineveh and surrounded this city. They did not succeed in taking Nineveh, but in the autumn of 614 B.C. they besieged and captured Assur. The city was utterly destroyed, and its inhabitants were exterminated. The Babylonian chronicle notes the Medes' frightful destruction of the city. When the battle had ended and all that remained of Assur were smoking ruins, Nabopolassar appeared at the city with his army. The Medes and Babylonians concluded an alliance with each other, shoring it up with a dynastic marriage between Nebuchadnezzar, the son of Nabopolassar, and Amytis, the daughter of Cyaxares (according to another version, she was the daughter of Astyages, the son of Cyaxares [633:270, fr. 47a; 186:216 and 220]). According to Greek tradition extending back to Berossos, Nebuchadnezzar built the famed hanging gardens of Babylon on terraces behind his palace that had the appearance of natural hills similar to the mountain gardens of Media, so that Amytis would not miss the natural setting of her homeland [archaeological excavations have corroborated this report: 689:217].

The fall of Assur shook the very foundation of the Assyrian empire, but while the conquerors were busy dividing the plunder, the Assyrians could gather their forces. In 613 B.C. the Assyrian army, under the command of Sin-shar-ishkun, continued military operations in the Euphrates plain and was even able to inflict a defeat on the Babylonians. But soon after this the combined forces of the Babylonians and Medes besieged Nineveh.

The Chronicle of Nabopolassar (or the Gadd Chronicle, as it is otherwise called) names Cyaxares as king of the Umman–Manda, whereas that same chronicle in the report concerning the capture of Assur designates him simply as a "Mede" (*CCK*, pp. 56–8, lines 24 and 38; *cf. ABC*, pp. 93–4). Further on, that same chronicle says that the Umman–Manda had come to the assistance of Nabopolassar when the latter was continuing the war against the Assyrian army in Syria (*CCK*, line 58). In passing, it can be noted that a later inscription of Nabonidus names the Median king Astyages as the "King of Manda" [*NKI*, p. 220:32] and that the Cylinder concerning the capture of Media by the Persians likewise speaks of the defeat of the Umman-Manda. However, it is difficult to speak with complete certainty as to who precisely were the Umman–Manda who had participated in the siege of Nineveh. It is Gadd's opinion that this term designates various northern tribes of Indo-European origin (including also the Cimmerians), who invaded Asia Minor and the adjacent countries, but Akkadian texts sometimes fail to make a distinction between them and the Medes [289:14, note 1]. Cameron believes that Cyaxares, apparently in 613 B.C., subjugated the Scythian settlers to the north of Assyria, and hence the report of the Chronicle for 612 B.C. names him the "king of Umman–Manda" [186:216]. According to Herzfeld, the term Umman–Manda is first mentioned in Babylonian omens and from there the scribes took this archaic name to designate the Medes [371:186–7]. Close to this also is Diakonoff's opinion, according to which Umman–Manda and Madaj (Media) were differing names for one and the same state [35:307, note 1]. Grayson, on the contrary, considers it unlikely that the Medes were named in one and the same text by different names [330:194–5]. Landsberger and Bauer translate the name *manda* as "who knows (what kind of tribes)?" and interpret this to mean a coalition of various peoples [454:88]. Finally, Piotrovsky and Aliev assume that Umman–Manda represented the joint forces of the Medes and northern nomads [69:159, note 2; 8:240–1; 71:234]. In all probability, the Scythians and Cimmerians participated along with the Medes during the siege of Nineveh. In any case, Herodotus (I, 103) writes that Cyaxares laid siege to Nineveh together with all the peoples subject to him. Diodorus (II, 26, 1–4) reports that Nineveh was taken by the Scythian and Bactrian armies after several battles in which the Medes suffered defeats.

In August 612 B.C., after three months of siege, artificial flooding and a fierce assault, the Medes and Babylonians burst into Nineveh – this "den of lions," as it was called by the Biblical prophet Nahum. He was an eye witness of the destruction of the city and left a vivid picture of the assault.

> The chariots rage in the fields . . . their appearance is like that of torches, they dart about like lightnings . . . Take you the spoil of silver, take you the spoil of gold; there is no end to the store, an abundance of goodly objects . . . Woe to the bloody city, full of lies and rapine; the crack of the whip and the thunder of the rumbling wheels, the prancing horse and the bounding chariot, the horseman mounting and the flash of sword, the gleam of spear and a mass of the slain, a heap of corpses, there is no end of dead bodies . . . All that hear of thy fate smite their hands in rejoicing, for on whom has not thy iniquity constantly fallen? [Nahum II:4–III:19; for the translation see 547a:641–2.]

Thus the city that was hated by all its neighbors fell and its inhabitants were slaughtered. After 200 years no one could even say on what site Nineveh had been located. Herodotus mentions only the name of this city, (Ninos), while Xenophon, who had passed by its ruins, did not even know that Nineveh had once been located there.

The Assyrian king Sin-shar-ishkun apparently perished during the assault on Nineveh, but part of the Assyrian army was able to beat its way through to Harran, a city in northern Upper Mesopotamia, and continue the war there under the command of Ashur-uballit II. Meanwhile, at the end of 612 B.C. the Medes returned home with the lion's share of the booty, having left it to the Babylonians to conclude the war. Pharaoh Necho II sent help to the Assyrian troops, who were fortified in Harran. Then Nabopolassar apparently appealed to the Medes for help. According to the Chronicle of Nabopolassar, in November 610 B.C. the troops of Umman–Manda, who were coming to the assistance of the Babylonian king, set out against the Assyrians. Judging by one letter sent by prince Nebuchadnezzar, these Umman–Manda were Medes [*TCL* Vol. 9, no. 99; *cf.* Thureau-Dangin: 675:28]. This letter says that "the king set out for Harran; large forces of Medes went with him." The term "king" was obviously intended to refer here to Cyaxares. The Medes defeated the Assyrian troops and plundered the temple of Ehulhul (the sanctuary of the god of the Moon) in Harran. The Babylonians also participated in the assault, although their role in the capture of Harran was of secondary importance. According to one inscription of Nabonidus, the king of the Umman–Manda hastened to the assistance of the Babylonians.

> Above and below, from the right and from the left, like a hurricane, he appeared (*i.e.* the king of the Umman–Manda) . . . and without fear he destroyed them (*i.e.* the Harranites), the temple and the cities on the border with Akkad (= Babylonia), who were hostile to the king of Akkad (*i.e.* Nabopolassar) . . . and he showed no mercy whatsoever to their sanctuary" [*NKI*, pp. 272–4, No. 8, II, 3–27].

Further on in the same text we are told that the king of Babylon did not take part in this sacrilege, and that, mourning over the destruction of the temple of Ehulhul, he prayed to the gods and even slept on the earthen floor rather than in his own bed. Flavius Josephus also reports that the Medes were allies of the Babylonians in the campaign against Harran (*Ant. Jud.* X, 5).

A Babylonian garrison was left in Harran, while Cyaxares returned to Media with the main part of his army. But in June 609 B.C. the Egyptian pharaoh Necho II reached the Euphrates with his troops and over the course of three years fought against the Babylonians, relying on the states that were subordinate to him in Syria. The Bible says that Necho conducted a campaign against the Assyrian king (II Kings, 23:29). But this, without doubt, was an error, since it can be seen from the Babylonian Chronicle that in 609 B.C. the Egyptians fought on the side of the

Assyrians against Babylonia. Ashur-uballit now tried to regain Harran. However, the two-month siege did not bring success to the Assyrians, and then Nabopolassar appeared at the walls of the city with a large number of troops. Assur-uballit lifted the siege and still for some time (until 607 B.C.) continued resistance near the borders of Urartu, which, apparently, at that time was an ally of Assyria. But the fate of Urartu itself had already been decided, since the Medes had set out to capture its territory [35:316].

As a result of the destruction of the Assyrian empire, the Medes captured the eastern part of Asia Minor, the native territory of Assyria (*i.e.* northern Mesopotamia) and the region of Harran in Upper Mesopotamia. This can be seen from the following points. The Behistun Inscription testifies to the fact that the Assyrian city of Arbela was a part of Media, since punishment was meted out there to the Sagartian Chithratakhma, who had pretended to be a descendant of the Median king Cyaxares. Furthermore, as Diakonoff has pointed out, it can be seen from Xenophon (*Anab.* III, 4, 7–10) that in the fifth and fourth centuries the native Assyrian lands were viewed as Median lands in the popular memory [35:339]. Lastly, it follows from one Babylonian inscription [*NKI*, pp. 220–2, I, 24–33] that the Medes possessed Harran from 607 to 553 B.C.

The Babylonians prepared to seize all the provinces west of the Euphrates that had previously belonged to Assyria. But Necho thought that the territory of Syria and Palestine must belong to Egypt. Thus, there remained in the entire Near East only three powerful states: Media, Babylonia and Egypt. In addition, there were two states in Asia Minor which were not as mighty, but which were nevertheless independent kingdoms: Lydia and Cilicia.

Before turning our attention to the conquests of Media, let us dwell briefly on the victories of Babylonia, since they were of great significance for the subsequent history of Iran. In the first years after the defeat of the Assyrians, Nabopolassar waged a war in the mountains to the south of Urartu, which had now come under the authority of Media. Apparently at this very time Elam, which had previously been under the power of Assyria, was seized by Babylonia. At any rate, the Babylonian Chronicle reports: "Nabopolassar returned the gods of the country of Susa, which the Assyrians had carried off and settled in Uruk, to the city of Susa" [*CCK*, p. 50, lines 15–17; *ABC*, p. 88]. It is possible to assume that this was done as a sign of gratitude for the assistance of the Elamites in the period when Babylonia was fighting against Assyria. Babylonian votive objects have likewise been found in Susa: an alabaster vase, seals, weights with the name of Nebuchadnezzar, etc. [121, Vol. 1, No. 2169–79; 617:47–8; *MDP*, Vol. 4, Table 18; *MDP*, Vol. 6, No. 56; *MDP*, Vol. 10, No. 96; 186:220–1]. It is true that these objects could have gotten there together with military booty, but the building-bricks with the stamp of Nebuchadnezzar, which were discovered in Susa and which were used for the construction of state buildings, nevertheless give evidence of the fact that Elam was controlled by the Babylonian kings. The time of the annexation of Elam to Babylonia can be determined by starting with the Bible. In 604 B.C. Jeremiah mentions "all the Elamite kings" (25:25), but in 597–596 B.C. he announces a devastating invasion into Elam (49:34–8), while in 584 B.C. Ezekiel (32:24) speaks of the Elamites as a people who are subject to foreign kings [511, 3:144–5; *cf.* 699a:7].

Interesting documents have been preserved from Babylon which are dated from between 595 and 570 B.C. and which record the issue of foodstuffs for foreigners who were in this city. In particular, one of the texts speaks of the distribution of oil for 713 Elamites who were headed by a Babylonian by the name of Nabu-le'u. The editor of these texts, Weidner, assumes that these were Elamite warriors who had been quartered in Babylon. The same documents also mention Persians (inhabitants of the country of Parsumash) [Weidner, pp. 929–30]. It is probable that the presence of Elamites, as well as of their neighbors the Persians, in Babylon could be explained by the fact that Elam at that time had become a part of the Babylonian empire.

In the spring of 607 B.C. Nabopolassar transferred the command of the army to his son Nebuchadnezzar. The latter was faced with the task of seizing Syria and Palestine. But first it was necessary to take possession of the city of Carchemish on the Euphrates, where there was a strong Egyptian garrison which consisted partly of Greek mercenaries. In the spring of 605 B.C. Babylonian troops crossed the Euphrates and fell upon Carchemish simultaneously from the south and the north. A fierce battle began right outside the city walls and soon the city was transformed into blazing ruins, while the Egyptian garrison was annihilated right down to the last man. After this, in 604 B.C., a large part of Syria and Palestine surrendered to the Babylonians without resistance.

In August 605 B.C. Nabopolassar died and Nebuchadnezzar II became king. Soon after this, the latter conquered the Phoenician cities, which despite their supplications for urgent assistance remained without the support of Egypt. In 598 B.C. Jehoiakim, the king of Judah, prompted by the persuasions of Pharaoh Necho, broke away from Babylonia. Nebuchadnezzar besieged Jerusalem and captured it on 16 March 597 B.C. More than 3,000 Jews were carried off in captivity to Babylonia, and Nebuchadnezzar appointed Zedekiah king. According to Greek tradition, during the campaign against Jerusalem Nebuchadnezzar requested the assistance of the Median king Cyaxares [186:220, note 21 with reference to a fragment from Polyhistor in *Eusebius*, *Evang. Praep.* IX, 39].

Soon after this a new Egyptian pharaoh, Apries, decided to attempt to establish his authority in Phoenicia and seized the cities of Gaza, Tyre and Sidon, and even persuaded the Judean king Zedekiah to rise up in rebellion against the Babylonians. With decisive actions Nebuchadnezzar drove the Egyptian troops back to their former border, and in 587 B.C. he captured Jerusalem after an eighteen-month siege. The Judean kingdom was now liquidated and annexed to the Neo-Babylonian empire as a province, and thousands of inhabitants of Jerusalem were carried off into captivity.

Under Nebuchadnezzar II Babylonia was transformed into a flourishing country. This was a time of genuine renaissance, economic prosperity and cultural development. Mighty fortification structures were erected in the country in order to render it safe from hostile attacks in the future. Although relations with Media were still good, Nebuchadnezzar feared its potential to strengthen itself and well understood that sooner or later it would be transformed from an ally into a dangerous opponent. Apparently he willingly accepted refugees from Media to such an extent that, according to Babylonian texts from 595–570 B.C., the royal court distributed foodstuffs to the Median emigrants [Weidner, p. 930].

While Nebuchadnezzar was busily engaged in the adornment and fortification of his capital, the Median king Cyaxares, whom Aeschylus called the "founder of dominion over Asia," expanded the borders of his state at the expense of his southern and eastern neighbors. One of the first blows fell upon Persia (probably around 624 B.C.). It is true that Herodotus (I, 102) says that the Persians were conquered as early as Phraortes, but there is little likelihood of this [*cf.* 35:294; 186:214]. Apparently, the king of the Persians at this time was Cambyses I, who retained his power at the price of dependence on Media. Judging by later indirect evidence, Cyaxares also succeeded in capturing Parthia, Hyrcania and Armenia. For instance, when Parthia and Hyrcania fell away from Darius I, they supported the Median chieftain Frawartish, who passed himself off as a descendant of Cyaxares. Consequently, these countries at some time in the past were parts of the Median empire and recognized the authority of the Median king over them. Strabo (XI, 7, 2) writes that the Medes were sovereigns over the Hyrcanians. According to Greek tradition, the entire Iranian East, including Parthia, belonged to Media (see for instance Diod. II. 26, 1–4). But one can hardly agree with Herzfeld when he assumes that the Medes had extended their dominion to the banks of the Jaxartes (Syr Darya) and Indus rivers and that only after this did they set out against Assyria [371: 179 and 346].

Around 590 B.C. Cyaxares annexed Manna to Media. Manna had fought on the side of Assyria during its final days and this fact settled its fate [35:316–17; 39:142]. The Medes then subjected Urartu to their authority, most likely prior to seizing its capital Tushpa at Lake Van [*cf.* 34:31ff; 71:116; 39:178]. According to Piotrovsky, the Urartian city of Teishebaini (the present-day Karmir-Blur near Erevan) was destroyed at the beginning of the sixth century B.C. by local tribes with the participation of the Scythians [68:21; 71:116]. But Diakonoff assumes that it is more probable that Teishebaini was destroyed not by the Scythians, but rather by the Medes during a war in northern West Asia in the years 593–590 B.C. With reference to a report in the "Cyropaedia" of Xenophon and the Armenian epic tradition that was preserved by Moses of Khorene. Diakonoff has postulated the formation on or beside the site of Urartu, of an Armenian kingdom which recognized the power of the Medes over it. The Urartian kingdom is mentioned for the last time in Jeremiah (51:27) under the name of Ararat beside Manna and the Scythian kingdom. Around 590 B.C. all three states were incorporated into the Median empire [35:312, 317 and 354; 39:183–8].

According to Herodotus (I, 72), all of Cappadocia up to the Halys river (the modern-day Kizil-Irmak) was seized by the Medes. When the Median army approached the Halys in 590 B.C., Alyattes, the king of Lydia, who was worried by the conquests of Cyaxares in Asia Minor, set out against him. According to Herodotus, the war between Media and Lydia lasted five years, but neither one of the sides was able to gain a decisive victory. A solar eclipse, which was interpreted by both belligerents as a bad omen, occurred on May 29, 585 B.C. during the battle on the Halys.[6] Thus the war ended, and soon after this through the mediation of a certain Nabonidus from Babylon (Labynetus of Herodotus; the opinion of some scholars that this probably was the future king Nabonidus is incorrect [see 590:239]) and Syennesis, the king of Cilicia, a peace treaty was concluded that established the border between Lydia and the Median empire as the Halys river. A marriage between Aryenis, the daughter of Alyattes, and Astyages, the son of Cyaxares, followed the treaty. The vested interest of Babylonia in the termination of the military activities can most likely be explained by the fact that its trade through Asia Minor had been disrupted by this war.

During that same year, 585 B.C., Cyaxares died, leaving a powerful empire as an inheritance for Astyages. Under Astyages the Medes apparently placed Elam under their authority. During the reigns of Nebuchadnezzar II and his successors Elam had been dependent on Babylonia, but Babylonian power over Elam was lost under Nabonidus. This naturally led to a deterioration of relations between Babylonia and Media and both sides began to prepare for war, still not suspecting that they would soon have to act alone to defend themselves from a new enemy, namely the Persian king, Cyrus II.

[6] According to ancient tradition, this eclipse was foretold by Thales of Miletus. Many scholars assume that this was done on the basis of Babylonian astronomy, but Neugebauer thinks that at that time the Babylonians still did not have a theory for predicting solar eclipses and that the tradition of the prediction by Thales must not be regarded as authentic [62: 142].

Unfortunately current scholarship still does not have at its disposal direct data for research on the social and state structure of Median society. However, the great successes of the Medes in the war against such a strong enemy as Assyria and the comparatively easy capture of the territory of many neighboring countries can be explained by the fact that in early Median society class stratification was still not greatly developed and the armed popular masses played an important role in the country's military and political life. There were still no developed forms of slavery in Media in the seventh and the beginning of the sixth centuries B.C. but only semi-patriarchal slave-holding, where a poor peasant under economic duress would have recourse to the patronage of a wealthy neighbor and in this way fall into dependency on him [*cf.* 35:182–3]. But the seizure of the colossal wealth of the Assyrian kings and nobility, which had been accumulated over the centuries by means of rapacious wars and tributes, markedly accelerated class stratification in Median society, inasmuch as the lion's share of the plunder fell to the nobility, while a long war would take an unfavorable toll on the households of the ordinary peasants who constituted the nucleus of the army. When, by the middle of the sixth century B.C., a portion of the Median peasant population was enslaved by the nobility, the country could be plundered by foreign enemies.

E THE CULTURE OF THE MEDES

In the seventh and first half of the sixth centuries B.C. Media was the center of Iranian material and intellectual culture or – to put it another way – the culture which the Persians subsequently borrowed and developed further.

Excavations of the archaeological monuments of the Median period are essentially just beginning. In 1974 the Iranian centre for the study of archaeology began a systematic investigation of the Median settlement on the site of the city of Hamadan, but so far only the Early Islamic and Sasanian layers have been excavated. Remains of Median architecture have been uncovered at Godin Tepe, Baba Jan Tepe and several other sites. A series of fortresses of the Urartian and early Achaemenid times were intensively studied in southern Azerbaijan. However, by late 1975 only two Median sites – the settlements of Baba Jan and Nush-i Jan Tepe – had been relatively fully studied.

Baba Jan Tepe

Baba Jan Tepe was a large settlement of the Iron Age II–III periods, in the centre of the Delfan plain about 170 km northwest of Khorramabad in the Iranian province of Luristan. The excavations were sponsored by the Institute of Archaeology of the University of London in 1966–9, and directed by Goff (275:41ff; earlier literature also cited here).

The settlement consisted of several mounds. The existence of three phases of habitation has been established (III–I), extending approximately from the ninth to the seventh centuries B.C. A so-called "Manor" (33 × 34 m), with a central courtyard flanked to the west and east by long rectangular rooms and surrounded by small houses with walls on stone foundations, was located on the central mound. The external facade of the "Manor" was fortified with seven towers (at the corners and in the centre of each wall). The "Manor" was later rebuilt; in place of the courtyard a columned hall was erected, into which porticos led from the southeast.

The ruins of the most interesting building – the "Fort" – were discovered on a small hill east of the central mound. The centre of the "Fort" occupied a large square hall (11 m long per side) flanked on the east, west and north by long rectangular rooms. Hearths which were similar in construction to fireplaces were found both in the hall and in the western and eastern corridors. It is possible that these hearths were used for cult purposes; a stone-stepped plinth was discovered in one of them, under which was tucked a piece of a decorated clay figurine (behind the podium).

All the rooms of the "Fort" had flat wooden ceilings, and in the square hall the roof was supported by four wooden columns. Numerous fragments of painted ceramics of the so-called "Luristan style" were discovered on the floors (see below). A T-shaped room (10.5 × 12 m in its central part) was built on to the eastern room of the "Fort"; because of its colorful decorations this room was called the "Painted Chamber," and it undoubtedly had a cult purpose. The passage in the western part led into a small closed room; in the eastern wall of the "Painted Chamber" was a large hearth, while its western wall was decorated with false windows and pilasters jutting out at acute angles. The walls were covered with several layers of red and white plaster, and the roof was supported by wooden columns decorated in red on stone bases. 186 large (up to 50 cm per side) square ceramic tiles were found in this room, and the facings of walls had cruciform designs in red on a cream background.

The "Fort" was destroyed in a fire, which had apparently started suddenly and which may have been connected with the Assyrians' campaign in this region (Sennacherib's second campaign?). Soon after the fire the "Fort" was settled again, but the ruins of the "Painted Chamber" and neighboring rooms were turned into stables and workshops. This period (II – seventh century B.C.) also ended in a fire; in the stable on the site of the "Painted Chamber" were found burned bones of horses and donkeys. The settlement was finally abandoned at the end of the sixth century B.C.

Among the finds at Baba Jan are a piece of a Luristan "idol," a bronze pin with a head in the form of a panther preparing to leap (in the eighth-century level), bronze details of harnesses of horses, and a large quantity of ceramics. Vessels of the so-called "Luristan genre" are especially characteristic: large pots and "teapots" with free-standing spouts and twisted handles, decorated with cross-shaped and triangular designs in black and brown paint on cream or light yellow backgrounds. A red polished ceramic ware is also represented, similar to that which is found in Median settlements and particularly at Nush-i Jan Tepe.

Surkh Dum

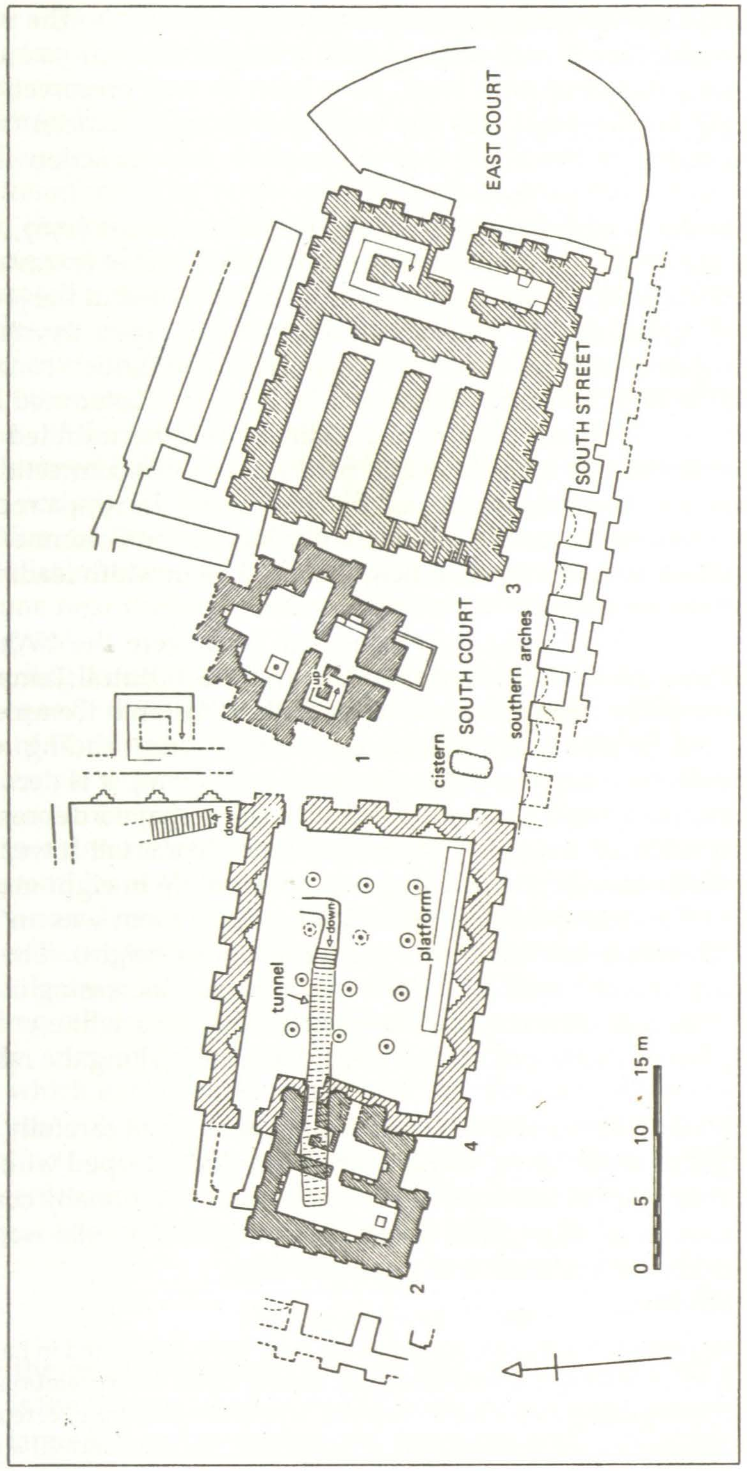
In southern Luristan, at Surkh Dum, an American expedition of the thirties excavated a sanctuary in which were found a considerable number of "Luristan bronzes," but the materials of these excavations have not yet been published. Judging from the short description of the results of work on the top of the Surkh Dum hill, towering over the Kuh-i Dasht valley, a building was uncovered, the walls of which were built of mud brick on a stone foundation (625). An altar may have been situated in the centre of the "main hall" of the building (plans are not included in the descriptions), since a square platform of brick was found on the floor. In a small room next to the "main hall," under the floor, a hoard was found which consisted of bronze mirrors, large votive bronze pins with open-work disk-shaped pin-heads – usually with depictions of the "mother-goddess" amidst various animals – a small stone pestle with a bronze ring, and many other objects.

About 200 cylinder seals were discovered in various rooms; some of them carry inscriptions of the Kassite period. But the largest number of "Luristan bronzes" was in the "main hall." Many bronze pins were probably driven into the wall, possibly in order to attach tapestries which decorated the walls of this sanctuary. Some of these "pins" have such heavy heads that they were more likely some kind of scepter. The motifs on the head of the pins are the same ones which were on the cheekpieces and other parts of the horse harness found in Luristan (including the "idol" motif).

In the opinion of Schmidt, the sanctuary at Surkh Dum should be dated to the eighth or seventh century B.C. This date is suggested, in particular, by the report of the discovery of iron objects in the sanctuary.

Nush-i Jan Tepe

Nush-i Jan Tepe is at present the only almost completely excavated settlement on the territory of historical Media which belongs to the



9 *Nush-i Jan Tepe.* Plan of the site.

original period and florescence of this state (750–660 B.C.). The settlement was founded on a rock outcrop with a height of about 30 meters. Its rooms, constructed of mud brick, have been so well preserved (to a height of 7 m; in places not only the walls and floors have been found, but even remains of the roof) that a complete reconstruction is not difficult.

Nush-i Jan Tepe was excavated during five field seasons (1967, 1970, 1972, 1974, 1977) by the British Institute of Persian Studies (excavations directed by Stronach). Preliminary reports were published in the journal *Iran* (Vols. 7, 9, 11–13, 16) [see also 651:177–86; 275:43–5; 655:203–12; 216a]. During this time the entire site was uncovered, which consisted (from east to west) of a "Fort," a "Central Temple," a "Columned Hall" and a "Western Temple." All these buildings were surrounded by a circular brick buttressed wall (Stronach points out in this connection the citadel of the Median capital described by Herodotus). In 1974 a rock-cut tunnel was discovered near the middle of the floor of the Columned Hall (an underground passage 1.7 m in height and 1.8 m in width leading for over 20 m to the west).

The most ancient buildings of Nush-i Jan Tepe were the "Western Temple" (where the floors are lowest of all) and the "Central Temple" – very architecturally complex buildings. The "Central Temple" is lozenge-shaped in plan with an ante-chamber, a ramp leading to the second floor, and a triangular inner sanctuary (11 × 7 m); it is decorated with recesses, false windows, and decorative cross-shaped depressions along all the walls of the hall. The temple looks like a tall tower with ledges (the walls have been preserved to a height of up to eight meters). To the left of the only door leading into the central room was an altar, around which was a low brick wall (about 80 cm in height). The altar was a column crowned with a capital of four "steps" increasing in dimensions. It was built of mud brick and covered with a white coating. Perhaps the sacred flame was carried out of the temple along the ramp to the roof.

The whole central cella of the temple was at some point carefully filled up (to a height of at least 6 m) with finely sorted shale, topped with mud bricks. But they wanted to preserve the altar; it was additionally covered up with bricks on all sides. The doorway leading to the cella was also carefully blocked by a narrow wall one brick thick.

As Stronach says:

> Such elaborate protective measures could never have been completed in haste, at the approach of an enemy for example, and among other interpretations it is possible to suppose that we may have evidence here of the elaborate, ceremonial steps that accompanied the extinction of a "royal fire" on the death of a ruling monarch [275:44].

Another supposition is also possible: the temple was filled up in order to erect a platform which formed a new sanctuary – different in plan or of a different cult.

The latest building at Nush-i Jan Tepe was a large "Fort" (25 × 22 m), erected toward the end of the existence of the "Central Temple." Its walls were strengthened by buttresses (six each on the short walls and seven each on the long ones) with arrow-slots on each face of the building. A guard-room and four long parallel magazines for the garrison and stores were located inside the "Fort."

Besides ceramics, the finds at Nush-i Jan Tepe include jewelry and a hoard of silver ingots [159:97–111]. Nush-i Jan Tepe is not rich in works of art and other impressive finds. The architecture and plan of the site are, however, of the greatest interest.

A columned hall was found at Nush-i Jan (one of four, ascribed to the Median period). It is more like an Achaemenid *apadana* than, for example, the Median (in time) columned hall in Godin Tepe, which still retains the characteristic features of the columned halls of Hasanlu – a platform for the throne near the back wall, an altar in the middle, and benches along the long walls.

According to Stronach, the plan of the "Fort" of Nush-i Jan Tepe is reminiscent of the plan of the multichambered tower in the corner of the *apadana* of Darius and Xerxes in Persepolis [653].

The temple unearthed at Nush-i Jan Tepe is probably the first Mazdayasnian sanctuary in Iran. In the opinion of Stronach, it meets "the scrupulous demands of later Zoroastrian practice." Ghirshman suggests that the temples at Nush-i Jan Tepe were the very same *daivadana* temples which Xerxes destroyed. The filled-in temple at Nush-i Jan Tepe was thus "a structure sentenced to disappear which for some reason they did not want to destroy, but made inaccessible by filling it up with stones and forbidding religious ceremonies in honor of persecuted gods" [23].

Finally, extremely important is the structure of the settlement as a whole, which explains to some degree the character of the early Median state. Only cult and administrative structures – temples, a hall of audiences, a fort – were erected on a natural rise controlling a wide valley. The whole settlement is wholly devoted to the headquarters of a ruler and buildings constructed for his nobles and his guard.

The treasure from Ziwiye

One of the most sensational finds in Iran, ascribed to the Iron Age III period, is the famous treasure from Ziwiye, which was discovered in 1947 near a large hill 40 km east of the town of Saqqiz, relatively close to Hasanlu.

Political events in southern Azerbaijan at the time of the discovery were not at all conducive to normal communications with central regions of Iran, and for this reason many objects from this treasure – first and foremost products made of precious metals – were melted down or broken during the division of spoils, and less valuable objects were discarded or smashed. The energetic activity of antiquities dealers caused the treasure to be divided among various private collections, as well as in various museums in the USA, France, Canada, England and Japan. A large part of the treasure is now held in the archaeological museum in Teheran. Ghirshman published a list of these objects with designations of their dimensions and materials and brief descriptions (in all there are 341 objects; 43 are of gold, 71 of silver, 103 of ivory) [316:445–52].

In 1950 André Godard, then Director General of the Archaeological Service of Iran, published some of the gold, silver and ivory objects; gave a detailed description of the circumstances of the discovery of the treasure; proposed a date – the ninth century B.C. – for the basic corpus of materials; and defined these artifacts as representing "art of the 'animal style' of the Zagros with elements of the art of Assyria and adjacent regions." Following Herzfeld, he assumed that it was this very art which was later adopted by the Scythians and Achaemenids. For some of the objects Godard first suggested the term "Mannean." Only thanks to his energetic activity have many of these pieces reached the archaeological museum in Teheran [324].

Having proposed identification of the modern name "Ziwiye" with the ancient "Zibia" – the fortress mentioned, in particular, in an inscription of Sargon II [476, 2:5] – Godard pointed out that many objects of the same style, including gold and silver rhytons, were found several kilometers from Ziwiye, at Ghaflantu, on the site of an ancient settlement which he identified with Izirtu, the capital of Manna.

In 1950 the "Ziwiye fad" began. As a result, materials found in adjacent regions and random finds from southern Azerbaijan in general, which were sold in antiquities shops, began to be termed "objects from Ziwiye." Godard himself later drew attention to several objects which he had erroneously attributed to the treasure [325].

Archaeologists were able to reach Ziwiye only many years after the discovery of the treasure. They established that Ziwiye was a large fortress, erected in the Iron Age III period. Abundant ceramic collections showed that Ziwiye ware was similar to the ceramic ware of Hasanlu (period IIIB). Fragments of local glazed earthenware vessels imitating late Assyrian examples were also found among the ceramics at the site. The ceramics from Ziwiye show links with those from the "southern group" of Iron Age III sites, in particular with those found at Zendan-i Sulaiman (dated *c.* 700 to 620 B.C.). Based on this, the date of the pottery and, thus, the Ziwiye fortress should be placed in the period between the beginning and the second half of the seventh century B.C. The fortress was the residence of the ruler of a district. Now it is pitted with the holes of treasure hunters, who have uncovered in places thick walls (up to 7.5 m) constructed of mud bricks (34 × 34 × 9 cm). The fortress probably contained a palace-like building with a portico supported by columns. The palace was decorated with glazed tiles similar to the tiles of the Assyrian palaces at Assur and Kalkhu [255].

Although the discoverers of the treasure assure us that it was discovered at the walls of the citadel (and this can be seen from the remains of their "excavations"), the treasure might not have been associated with the fate of the fortress. But the traces of the looters' intense activity even inside the citadel force us to suspect that some "objects from Ziwiye," especially bronze and iron weapons, parts of horses' harnesses and bone and horn pieces, were found not as part of the treasure, but in the citadel itself.

As one of the investigators of the treasure, Wilkinson, has observed:

> Unfortunately, what is left in an empty stable after a horse has been stolen merely tells us that a horse was once there – it does not identify the horse. Thus, though the sherds of pottery left on such a site as Ziwiye may give us some details about the general life in that area, they do not necessarily tell us much about the grandees who lived there and the treasures they possessed. To be completely fair, it should be added that some of these questions cannot always be answered even by excavations of the most meticulous kind [729:7].

Together with other objects from Ziwiye, fragments were found of the edge and walls of a large bronze tub or trough. Two precisely identical tubs were discovered by archaeologists in Ur (Babylonia) during excavations of layers of the Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods. There they were used for the burials of women, but it has not been possible to establish with reliability the date of these burials and their attribution. Determinations vary between the middle of the seventh and the beginning of the sixth century B.C. [732:16–18]. A tub of the same type was also discovered in Zinjirli, but there it was used specifically as a bath [478: Table 37]. These pieces are, undoubtedly, Assyrian works and come from some single centre. A scene is carved on the preserved pieces of the trough from Ziwiye, on its upper edge, which is typical of Assyrian objects that depict the offering of tribute. A procession of tributaries, in whose hands are the horns of ibexes (probably symbolizing a herd of goats), vessels (one identical in form to those described above from Hasanlu), wine-skins, and a model of a fortress–city – something like the keys to the city which are usually brought to victors – advances toward an Assyrian noble and his suite and soldiers. A scene is depicted on another fragment of the trough which is also typical of Assyrian art: a goat standing on a complex rosette. We can say nothing about the ethnic membership of the tributaries. Judging from their costumes (footwear, cloaks of fur), they must be inhabitants of mountain regions. In any case, they do not include any Syrians or Babylonians, who are usually clearly recognizable by their clothes and ornaments. There is also nothing specific in the nature of the tribute: it is typical of many peoples [728:213–20; 129:111–16].

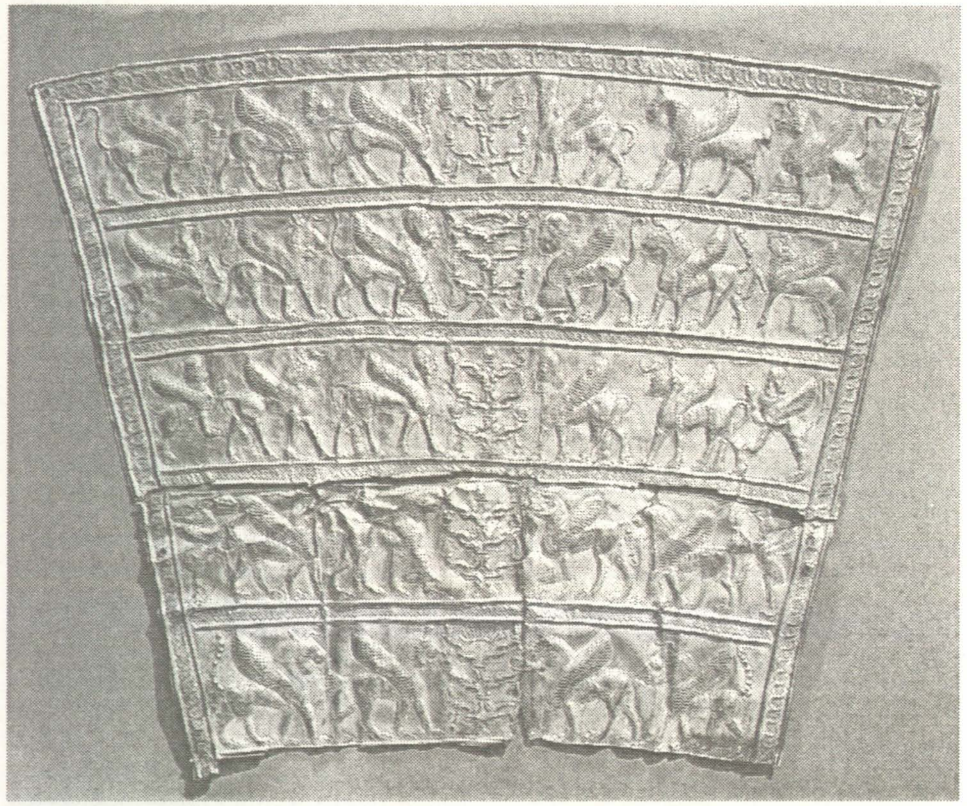
The object's style of depiction and its fine iconographic details, such as the shapes of the coiffures and the clothing of the nobles, most likely date from the late Assyrian period – the second half of the eighth century B.C. In any case, the discovery of the trough at Ziwiye might show, first of all, that this treasure actually came from a rich burial. Arguing against such an interpretation, however, is the unestablished purpose of these troughs and, at least partially, the very diverse nature of the objects in the treasure.

But in any case, whether this was a burial ground or a treasure hidden in a bronze vessel, it is clear that the objects which comprised it were amassed by lootings from different places. Thus another group of objects, including ivory plaques, the decorative parts of formal furniture, and precious boxes with various images, had been in a fire before reaching their final owner. And the set itself (though admittedly, not nearly all the objects have been collected) suggests that they had been torn off various pieces of furniture and boxes. The publisher of the plaques, Wilkinson, divides them into two groups, imported and local [729]; some of them, executed with great mastery, are comparable to the ivory plates discovered in the Assyrian palaces of Arslan Tash, Nimrud, and Kuyundjik [130]. Another group consists of objects on which the images are similar in many details to the representations on the gold plates of Ziwiye.

They all sharply differ in style from the fragments of ivory found in Hasanlu IV, which bespeaks a difference in dates [523:121–35]. The basic mass of the ivory from Ziwiye supposedly cannot be dated earlier than the time of Tiglath-pileser III (744–727 B.C.) and represents, mainly, objects of "provincial Assyrian work" with some influence from the art of Phoenicia, northern Syria and perhaps Urartu.

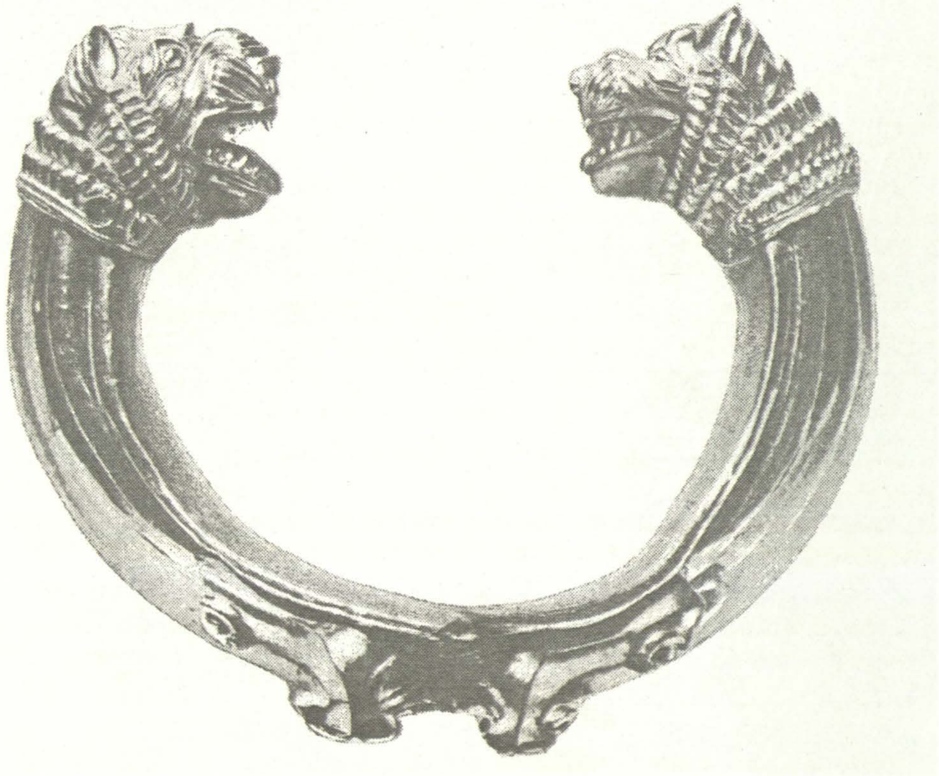
For the most part the gold and silver objects of this treasure belong to a "mixed style" in which features undoubtedly from Assyria and from Urartu, apparently from Asia Minor, and almost certainly from Syria are combined with new features of style, technique, and, chiefly, sets of images unknown before Ziwiye (or, after many recent discoveries, it is more correct to say most clearly represented in Ziwiye).

These objects represent objects of elite art: ornaments, weapons, insignia of the power of the king or leader. Thus, for example, a golden pectoral – a chest ornament which was worn on a chain – was discovered at Ziwiye. Such ornaments were indisputably symbols of power or fame, and are found mostly on figurines of Urartian kings and gods. Here it must be added that bronze pectorals of an earlier time were found in Luristan, and later ones in the burial grounds of Scythian times. The possibility cannot be ruled out that some golden strips found at Ziwiye once decorated wooden quivers and served as sheaths for the hilt and scabbard of the ceremonial royal sword. A massive gold chape of a scabbard, a gold pommel of a sword, silver and bronze parts of a horse's harness, and several examples of battle weapons – two iron swords, arrowheads and a spearhead – were found at the same site. In addition, fragments of a golden royal diadem with rosettes, a silver disk (most likely a flat plate) with gold appliqué work, and several beautiful ceramic vessels, the depictions on which are executed by means of incrustation, are among the objects from Ziwiye which have gone to various museums.



10 Gold plaque. Ziwiye, 7th century B.C., Metropolitan Museum, New York.

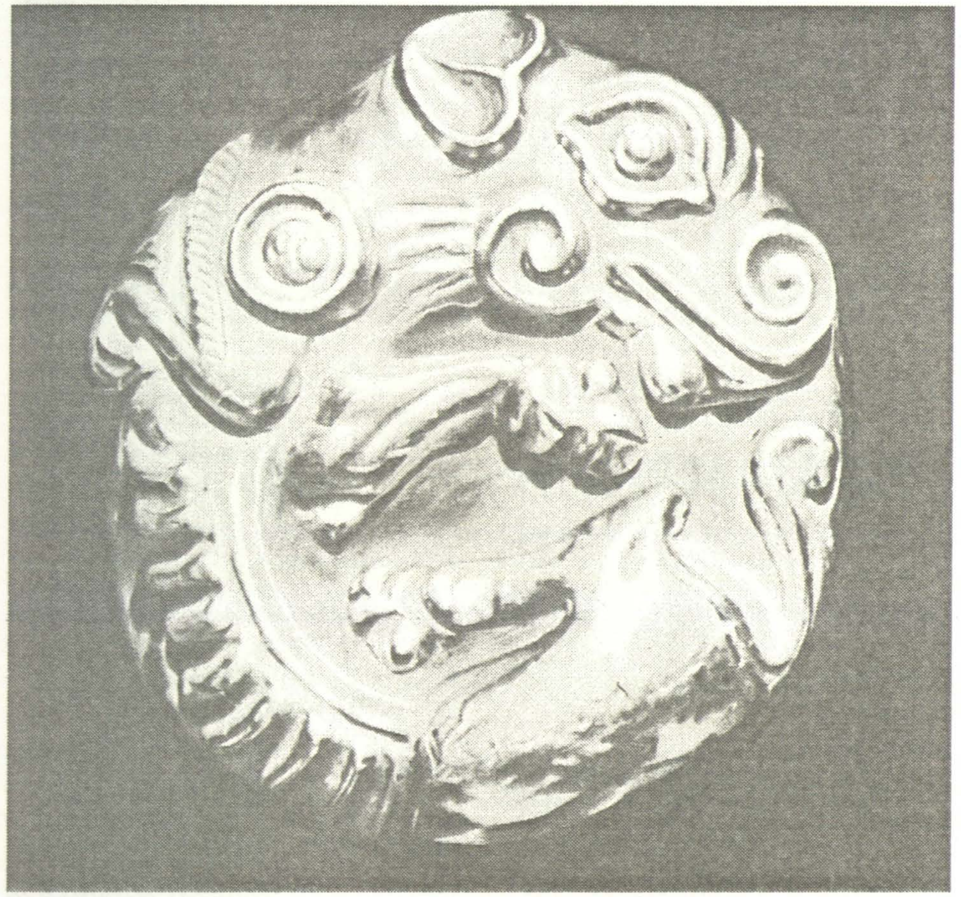
The major place among the decorations of some of these pieces is occupied by forms which, in works devoted to Ziwiye, are called



11 Gold bracelet. Ziwiye, 8th–7th centuries B.C., Metropolitan Museum, New York.

"Scythian": stags, panthers, eagles' beaks, hares and rams. The silver disk is decorated with concentric rows of gold appliqué work: two panthers in heraldic poses, eagles' beaks, reclining panthers, and hares. There is a depiction of two panthers on the massive gold chape, while the gold belt shows the small figures of a ram and a stag in a rhombus-shaped pattern of the branches of the sacred tree, and the fragments of the diadem depict eagles' beaks and reclining panthers.

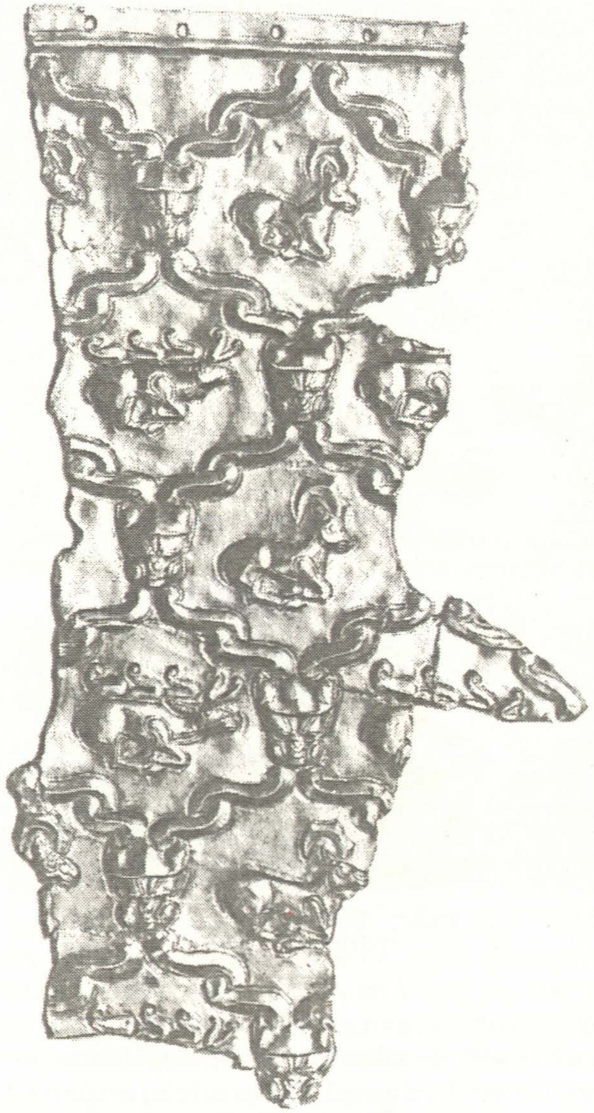
Other pieces, especially the pectoral, represent a mixture of various styles; two registers of the pectoral are occupied by depictions of fantastic creatures: in the centre of the composition is the sacred tree, flanked by two rearing ibexes in the upper and by two winged bulls in the lower register. Monsters approach from either side. A sphinx, a winged human-headed bull with a horned feather crown, and a lion-headed griffin are shown. These fantastic creatures are partly Assyrian, or more precisely, almost Assyrian, partly Urartian, or more precisely almost Urartian, and partly "Scythian" (*e.g.* the panther, and hare on the ends of the pectoral).



12 Golden pommel of a sword (or the "shoe" of a lance?). Ziwiye, 7th century B.C., Metropolitan Museum, New York.

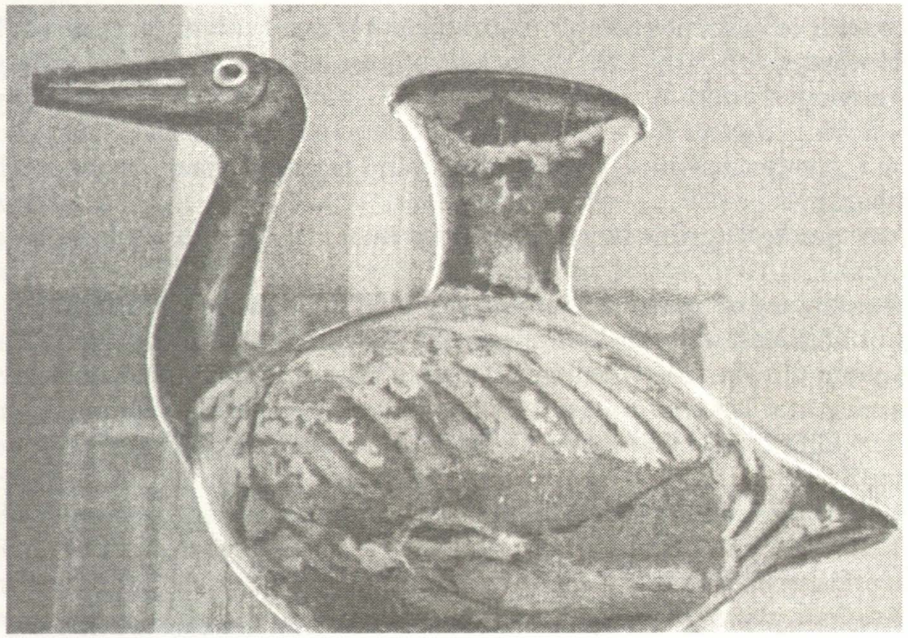
Some features which are not, strictly speaking, completely Assyrian, are also present on those objects whose attribution to the Assyrian nobility can scarcely be questioned. For example, on parts of a ceremonial Assyrian breastplate the centre is occupied by two winged deities, winged rams and a procession of lions; the sacred tree, however, is shown in its Urartian version.

The composition on almost all of these gold objects is structured along heraldic lines: it develops symmetrically along the sides of the sacred tree. This tree is represented at Ziwiye in at least ten versions, constructed according to one principle: S-shaped scrolls in a complex interweaving, ending with either pine cones, pomegranates or complex flowers. Almost all these elements, particularly the principle of the construction of the sacred tree, have direct analogies in the art of Urartu, especially in the



13 Gold belt (detail). Ziwiye, 7th century B.C., Archaeological Museum, Teheran.

bronze belts found in Ani Pemz and Zakim, and at excavations of Karmir-Blur and Arinberd [131; 120]. Similar elements also make up the various sacred trees of the ivory plaques – parts of furniture found in the Assyrian palaces of Nimrud. These ivory plaques, however, are not Assyrian but Syro-Phoenician. On Assyrian – or rather, "provincial Assyrian" – ivory plaques from Ziwiye, the sacred tree is depicted differently, although the same elements are present in it.



14 Clay figured vessel, found in Ziwiye. 7th (?) century B.C., Archaeological Museum, Teheran.

Thus the very centre of the composition, which is very important with respect to meaning (for Assyrian and Urartian art in any case), demonstrates links with at least three regions of the Near East; such proclamative art maintains strongly established and developed standards in which all images, iconographic representations, and the locations in which they are placed are regulated and interpreted, since they have a completely determined religious symbolism. These three regions are Urartu, Syria together with Phoenicia, and Assyria – all three are listed in the order of their connection.

As already stated, a symmetrical composition made up of images of fantastic creatures develops along the sides of the sacred tree. There are comparatively few of these images. Below is a list of them with letter designations (in order to show later the order of their distribution on various objects):

A – a winged griffin with the head of an eagle and the body of a lion and with talons and feline paws in an "apron" (analogies: Assyrian reliefs of the eighth century B.C.);

B, B^1 – a horned and winged lion with the tail of a scorpion or a fish (analogies: Assyrian reliefs and seals, Urartian bronze belts);

C, C^1 – a winged human-headed bull (Assyrian *shedu*) in a conical or upward-widening crown;

D – a winged ram with curved horns in an "apron";

E, E^1 – a winged sphinx with the body and paws of a lion and a woman's face with or without an "apron" (in the latter case with its face turned backward);

F – a winged bull;

G – a winged goat;

H – a "genius" (*shedu* C rearing on its hind legs with hands extended upward);

I – a "genius" (griffin A rearing on its hind legs with a situla in its hands).

The following compositions are represented (along the sides of sacred trees of various forms) in seven registers on the gold strip of a quiver (fragments in the Metropolitan Museum and in the archaeological museum in Teheran): (1) ABC × CBA; (2) $DB^{1}E \times EB^{1}D$; (3) $E^{1}FC^{1} \times C^{1}FE^{1}$; (4) GBA × ABG; (5) $B^{1}B \times BB^{1}$; (6) $BC^{1} \times C^{1}B$; (7) $IB^{1} \times B^{1}I$.

On a gold pectoral in two registers these are represented: (1) a hare, a "Scythian panther," B, C, E, a composition with two ibexes rearing on their hind legs beside the sacred tree (the same composition is on ivory and Assyrian glazed plates of the eighth century B.C.), E, C, B, a "Scythian panther," and a hare; (2) a hare, a "Scythian panther," $E^{1}D$, A, H, F × F, H, A, D, E^{1}, a "Scythian panther," and a hare.

This simple scheme on two different gold objects (one with the so-called "Scythian elements," the other in the Ancient Near Eastern style) points to some common direction in the selection of images for all these compositions. The unity of the majority of these works is also indicated by the fine details of style and iconography: the bodies of almost all of the monsters have triangular "underwings" with diagonal strokes outlining the oval line of the scapula; palmettos on the bodies of ibexes; hatching for the depiction of wool beneath bellies; and identically treated eyes and wool.

All these devices are typical both for the "Scythian panther" on the pectoral (even the "underwings") and for the "Scythian stags" on the gold belt. Moreover, the tails of all Assyro-Urartian monsters and the branches of the sacred tree are shown in the same way as the horns of the "Scythian" stags. A single technique of working (hammering and chasing on the front) is typical for many gold objects from Ziwiye.

The common characteristics also include decorations along the edges of strips and the manner of depiction of paws (similar to the Urartian). These features share details in common with the gold work of Hasanlu and, especially, Marlik. Unfortunately, the incomplete publication of the gold vessels of Marlik partially hinders a comparison of the details, but not once has a coincidence been cited of fine details, even the finest iconographic details – in other words, long-continued handicraft techniques passed on from master to student, which did not bear any semantic load.

Thus, for example, Porada has pointed out such details in images of griffins on a gold bowl from Marlik (grave 18C) [527, Table 12] and of griffins on a pectoral from Ziwiye [572:132–4]. It is now possible to postulate that the master craftsmen of Ziwiye were almost certainly the descendants of the artisans of Hasanlu, Marlik, and Kalar Dasht; *i.e.*, of Manneans. But since that time the circle of these artisans' iconographic sources had widened extraordinarily. They obviously also worked for a completely different person who ordered their production.

Some of the "genii" and "demons" of Ziwiye were borrowed from the art of Assyria; but we cannot observe in a single Assyrian object such chaos in the depiction of "evil" and "good" creatures, such randomness in their arrangement. Some of these creatures are also in Urartu; having been borrowed from Assyrian religious art and having undergone some changes in iconography, they became symbols of various local gods. Finally, some of these demons are encountered in the art of northern Syria, the western coast of Asia Minor, and Ionia. All these sources are mixed together on the objects from Ziwiye. The sphinx is depicted here in his Ionian and Syro-Phoenician versions; the winged ram recalls the rams on the ivory plaques of Nimrud; the winged human-headed bull is in his northern Assyrian version; some lions are typically Urartian; and fine details on all the images (such as the division of the wings) are closest to the art of Urartu. It seems clear that the masters of Ziwiye, confronting heterogeneous artistic masterpieces, copied some of the images, not worrying about their original meaning or their earliest iconography.

At this point works of art preceding those of Ziwiye should be recalled. At Hasanlu we will find exact analogies to some heraldic compositions of Ziwiye (*e.g.* ibexes flanking the sacred tree) and to some monsters, but these analogies will be a century and a half to two centuries older than the treasure at Ziwiye. Some vessels from Marlik, which are also earlier, show winged bulls and winged rams. Particularly numerous analogies can be drawn in Luristan, both among the "Luristan bronzes" of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. and among the plaques and fibulae found at Surkh Dum, also of the eighth and beginning of the seventh centuries B.C. And if we digress a little from the treasure of Ziwiye and remember other objects, in particular the rhytons found in this region, the number of parallels grows. All this material convincingly suggests that at some period in this territory a rather strict selection of all the rich images of neighboring "grand cultures" occurs, and that in this selection no special value is given to the symbolism which these images had in the "grand cultures."

This conclusion is important because it was exactly these fantastic creatures, which were encountered in Ziwiye at the final and richest point of this selection, which later ended up in the art of the Achaemenid period. They were obviously derived from this source, and not directly from Assyria or Urartu. The meanings which the Achaemenian artisans attached to them could have been essentially the same as those which the masters of Ziwiye had. This idea seems to be corroborated, albeit indirectly, by another fact: the fantastic creatures under discussion are actually widely represented on art objects of the Near East in the late Assyrian period (although dissimilar in details of iconography), but these works, as a rule, are not the huge official reliefs which decorated the palaces of Assyrian kings or Urartian ceremonial weapons, but mostly private seals, ornamental pictorial panels or ivory plaques. In particular, many parallels of separate images and whole scenes are also found on Assyrian cylinder seals of the end of the eighth and the seventh centuries B.C. Such objects were easily moved, and huge numbers of them reached northwestern Iran. Their compositions could have served as "models" for the masters of Ziwiye.

By the seventh century B.C., this art, based on ancient local traditions, changes its style of decoration completely (or at least to a considerable degree): compositions (the toreutics of Hasanlu and Marlik) obviously connected with a different ethnos are occupied by images and compositions which have been borrowed, sometimes as complete "quotations," generally torn from their contexts, but more frequently as "paraphrases" from the artistic masterpieces of the great civilizations of antiquity. The "direct quotations" and "paraphrases" are supplemented with a new layer of images which, although they were known in this territory earlier, did not occupy such an important place in art before Ziwiye. The new layer is formed by those very "Scythian animals" which were discussed earlier.

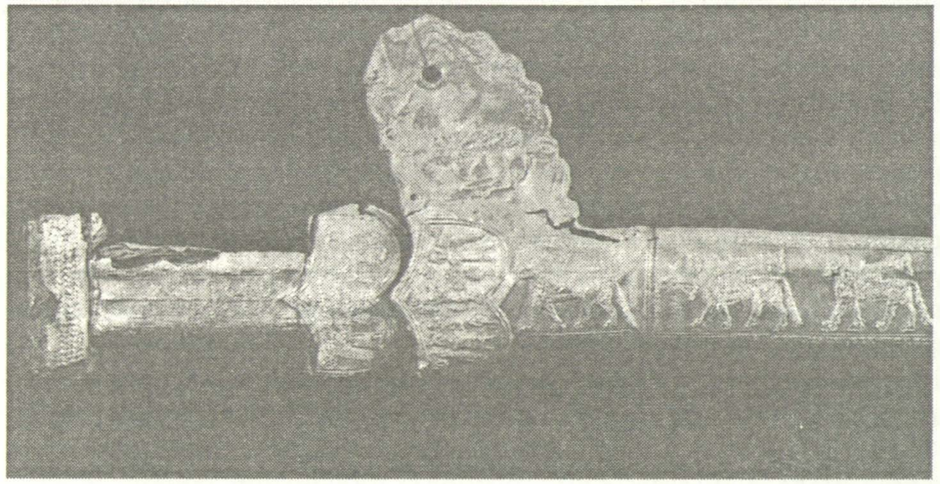
Let us examine the most revealing objects from Ziwiye with such images. A gold sheath with a crouched stag and a goat between stylized shoots of the sacred tree can be precisely paralleled in its arrangement of images, its decorations, even its dimensions (but not its form) to Urartian bronze belts like those found at Zakim, Ani Pemz or Karmir-Blur (sites which date to the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.). Here we again have a "Scythian quotation" or "paraphrase" in an environment with a different meaning.

A silver disk with the images of panthers, eagles' beaks and hares has an Assyrian central rosette, Urartian ornaments in the centre and along the edge, and an hieroglyphic inscription, the signs of which recall Urartian or Hittite hieroglyphs, on a "spade-shaped" ornament along the side [317:105, Fig. 42].

Finally, let us turn to the gold pommel of the hilt of a sword with the image of a contorted panther and an eagle's beak. Particularly interesting is the fact that the type of animal in a folded pose is completely atypical of the art of the Ancient Near East and was not developed later, but the animal itself is executed according to the canons of the art of Assyria and Urartu. The eagle's beak, on the other hand, placed in the body of the animal, belongs to the same Assyro-Urartian symbolism.

In the region of Lake Urmia the Scythian tribes appear, at any rate, no later than the sixties of the seventh century B.C., and possibly even earlier (for a more detailed discussion see pp. 50–3), and, at first glance, the possibility cannot be ruled out that it was they who brought the motif of the stag with bent legs and branching horns, the panther motif, the stylized image of the eagle's head, and the animal in a folded pose. However, it is not now possible to point to a single firmly dated similar object from Scythia itself which is older than the objects from Ziwiye or contemporaneous with them. Furthermore, besides the pose of the stag or goat, which is distributed very broadly throughout the Near East, a stag of the same type as at Ziwiye is represented on a bronze cheekpiece from the area near Harsin (Luristan). This object indisputably belongs to that circle of Luristan bronze cheekpieces, the latest date of which is the eighth or the beginning of the seventh centuries B.C. Neither the hare nor the eagle's head appears in specifically Scythian forms, because we find analogies to them in the "Luristan bronzes." Analogies to separate iconographic details of heads exist in the art of the northern regions of Iran, and partly in the art of Assyria. Finally, the same heads of eagles in very stylized forms are also found in reliefs of Achaemenid times. To an even greater degree this applies to the form of the goat with bent legs.

As for the panther, two iconographic types are known in Ziwiye: one, of a crouching panther; the other, of two panthers in an opposed heraldic pose. This image is represented not only on gold strips and in the form of appliqué work on a silver disk; it decorates a cast gold scabbard chape. Numerous Ziwiye panthers also demonstrate the development of this image: paws and tail are gradually transformed into a ring; the triangular heart-shaped ear is rounded; the eye becomes round; and finally the body of the animal curls into a ring. It should be emphasized that these stages are only recorded at Ziwiye; in Scythian panthers, such as the famous Kelermes example, this image is even more heavily stylized (although in the same direction) than the most stylized image from Ziwiye. Finally (as already discussed), in eastern Luristan during the excavations of the fortress of Baba Jan Tepe in an eighth-century B.C. level, a bronze pin with a head in the form of a crouching panther, iconographically closer to the early Ziwiye panthers, was discovered. Some analogies to this image in the "Luristan bronzes" were adduced long ago by Godard [324]. It should be pointed out here that a certain stylization of the details of this image was essentially Urartian (the open jaws of the panther in Ziwiye have precise parallels in the depiction of lion heads on Urartian helmets), while its execution was undoubtedly local; *i.e.* Mannean.



15 Gold plaques of a sword scabbard, Kelermes Barrow.

It should be emphasized once again that the question of who was the last owner of the treasure in this case is almost unimportant, since the objects which formed this assemblage most likely comprised the spoils of war. Now, it is impossible to reconstruct the burial rite – if, in fact, the objects came from a grave – and for that reason this argument cannot be considered. As for the original owner of the objects from Ziwiye which were discussed above – in other words, the person who had ordered the acquisition of these objects – he must have been the chieftain of a large tribal division or the king of one of the early Iranian state formations. That is to say, the kings of the Scythian state, kings of the Median empire or the rulers of Manna are the possible candidates for the elite (in principle even proclamative) art of Ziwiye. In northwestern Iran during the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., the Iranian language (the language of the Medes, the Scythians and other Iranian tribes) became the means for intertribal relations, which indisputably unified all these tribes and brought them closer together economically and ideologically.

Given the political situation in this region (Ziwiye, on the basis of its parallels, should be dated to the seventh century B.C.), the most probable candidates for those who acquired the objects from Ziwiye would be the Medes. And if that is so, then we should add to the described works from Ziwiye a large group of gold and silver objects (zoomorphic rhytons, vases, and weapons) accidentally found near Ghaflantu in the Hamadan district and in other parts of northwestern Iran. These objects will be described below.

Of course, there is still no direct evidence which would permit us to regard part of the Ziwiye treasure as the masterpieces with which Median art began; but this hypothesis seems very tempting. It will be shown below, first, that some stylistic features, devices and even forms of this art (specifically, the comparatively narrow repertoire which was described above) will be included in Achaemenid art and will be encountered on objects whose late Median attribution seems reliable. Secondly, the making of Median art, as it has been described in the preceding pages, will turn out to be similar to the process by which Achaemenid art was created. The basis of the similarity will lie in a religion common to the Medes and Persians and a shared approach to the initial stage of formation of the images of deities of this religion. In other words, we can propose similar interpretations both for the Ziwiye collection of art objects and for particular groups of masterpieces of the Achaemenid period.

It is clear that, in this case, answering the question of exactly how the images of Ziwiye were interpreted is very difficult. But the comparatively strict selection of figurative symbols alien to Iranian beliefs and the introduction of their own symbols into the circle of these images clearly shows that they did interpret them somehow, and in their own way.

Only in late Zoroastrian writings do we find slight hints of anthropomorphic representations; perhaps only one goddess, Anahita, is described anthropomorphically. All the remaining Zoroastrian deities are described abstractly and only have their own "hypostases" or reincarnations (mostly as particular animals and birds). The *Yasna Haptanhaiti* mentions the worship of ancient mythical creatures, such as the sacred three-legged donkey, Khara,[7] and some others, but the gods of the Mazdayashnian religion are not visibly perceived. This circumstance, most probably, was also the reason that, when it became necessary to depict these gods, appropriate iconography had to be sought in images of the art of the Ancient Near East – which were foreign both in religion and, of course, in ethnicity, but at the same time widely known and respected – to which a corresponding interpretation was given.

For the Median kings it was quite natural to use as a basis the very rich representations of Assyria, Urartu, Elam, and especially the art of that historical–cultural region where their state was created, but the selection of images must have been deliberate and comparatively restricted.

The inscription of Darius I about the construction of his palace at Susa (lines 49–50), more than 100 years removed from Ziwiye, says: "The goldsmiths who wrought the gold were Medes and Egyptians." As we know, in listing other masters or specialists in work in stone or glazed tiles, sculptors, and builders – Ionians, Lydians, Babylonians, Egyptians – Darius was accurate, and this can be proven with the aid of archae-

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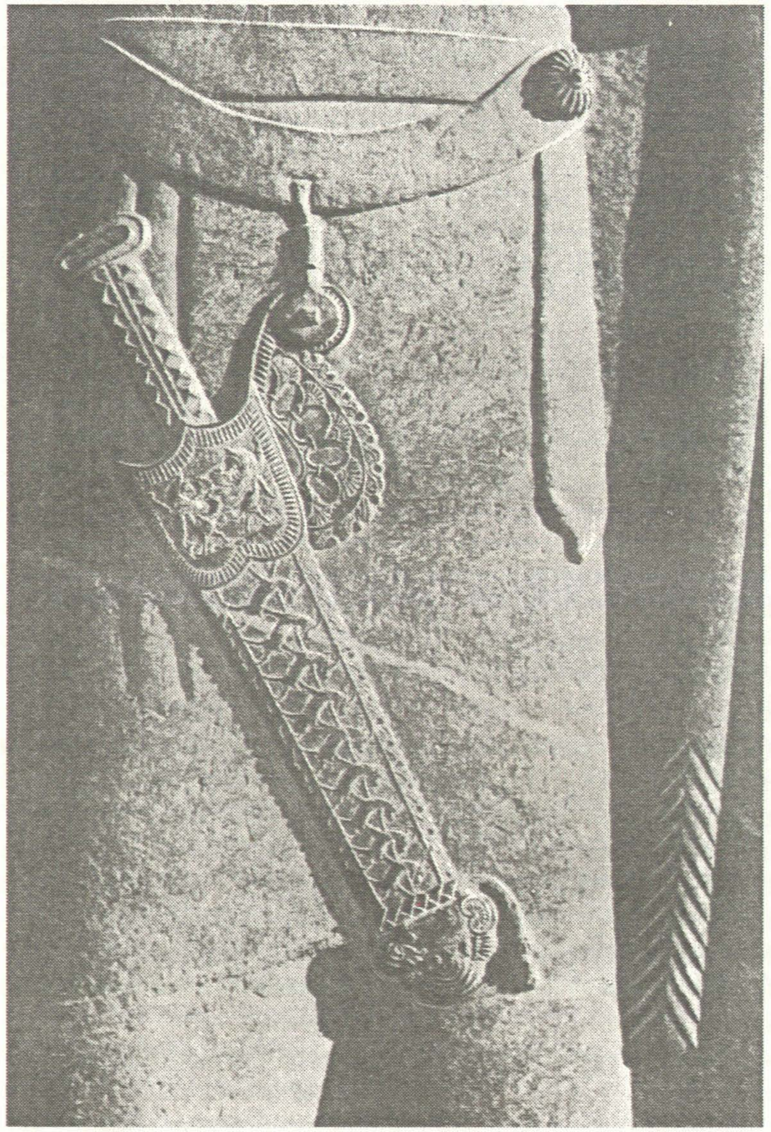
[7] See Yasha 42:4; Bundahishn 19:1ff.



16 Persepolis: *Akinakes* of a Median warrior (relief from the Persepolis Treasury, detail).

ology. It is very likely that he was just as accurate in speaking of the Medes – the recognized master workers in toreutics.

On its way south, Iranian art of the ninth to the seventh centuries B.C. underwent definite changes. The art of the Achaemenid empire is known to us from approximately the middle of the sixth century B.C., chiefly in ceremonial proclamative monuments belonging to the sphere of court art of the king of kings.

17 Bronze figure of a Mede. 5th–4th centuries.

As we have already observed, at this culminating point in its development Iranian art preserved exactly that layer of images which was connected with the art of western Asia, and, moreover, carried it over from small, basically utilitarian objects into "grand art," where these images acquired a clear proclamative coloring. As for the images of animals, they, in contrast, came to occupy a subordinate position, and quickly became ornamental motifs or even details on these motifs – as did, for example, the heads of griffins, known as details on ornaments in Persepolis.

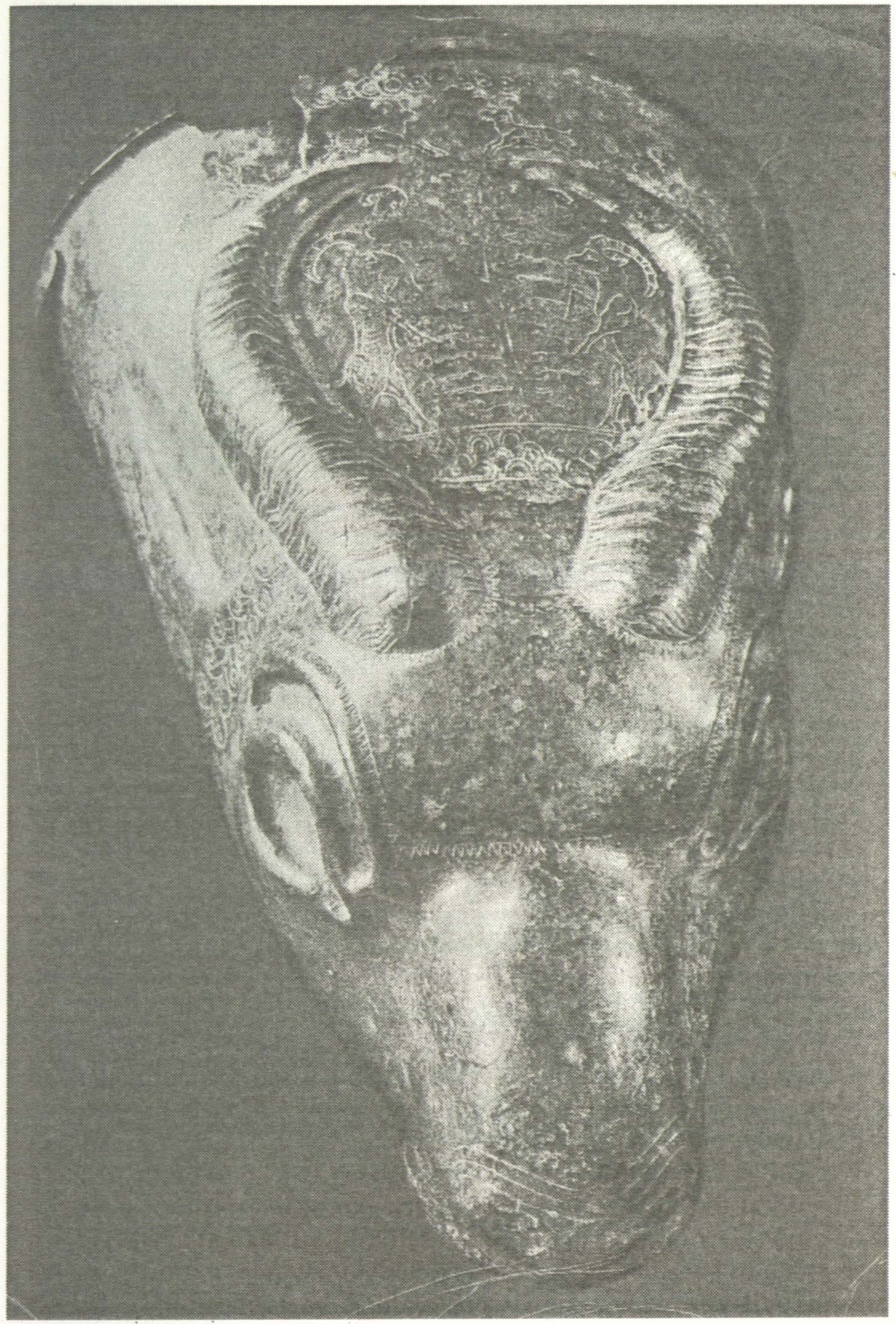
By what routes this art went south and how it changed on the way is partly shown by the *akinakes* swords of the Median soldiers. An *akinakes* depicted on a relief from Persepolis is almost the same in form as an *akinakes* from the *Kelermes* tumulus. In addition, the side-projection of the scabbard with an edging of eagles' beaks is very similar to the one from Kelermes. However, the central field of the side-projection is replete with depictions of palmettes, recalling the Assyrian ones, but already known from the sacred tree from Ziwiye. The top of the scabbard shows two winged lion–griffins back to back, also stemming from the same source, Ziwiye, but having undergone definite stylistic changes to become Achaemenian. Around each of the lion–griffins are the remains of the sacred tree: on the *akinakes* they are exactly the same as on large Achaemenid reliefs, Achaemenid seals or Achaemenid toreutics. The whole surface of the scabbard is decorated with a row of slender rampant goats in the identical "Near Eastern pose," but completely different in style. Finally, the chape is similar in form to the figure of a crouching goat. The stylization here is completely different from Scythian art, and the form of the animal has changed, but some iconographic details still connect it with the crouching panther from Ziwiye.

Having described the initial phase of Median art and defined, albeit approximately, the features which characterize it, we can separate those depictions which retained stronger connections with the objects of Ziwiye from the large group of masterpieces of toreutics of later Achaemenid times.

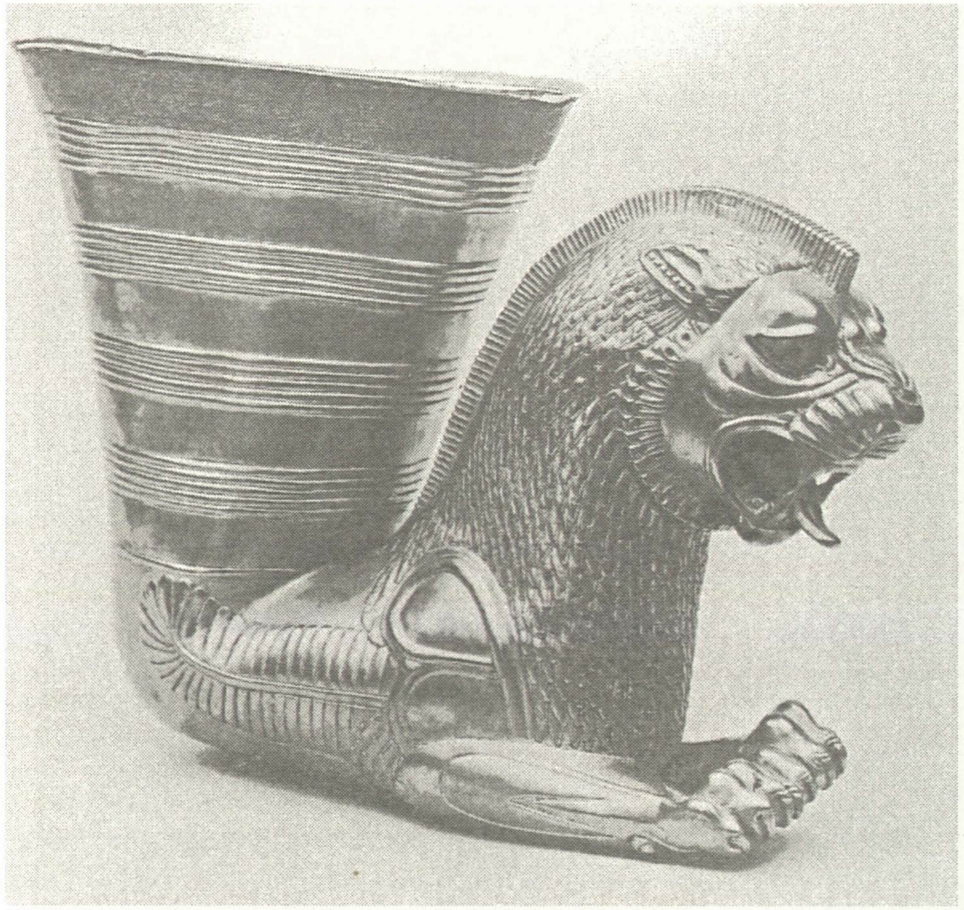
It is difficult to separate specifically Median examples from among the many gold, silver and bronze decorations, rhytons, and vases of the late period; during the Achaemenid empire, a unified "imperial style" of elite works was comparatively quickly created (and precious vessels, particularly rhytons, had a specifically elite significance). Unfortunately, works of art have not been discovered on a single Median site that has been excavated by archaeologists. Consequently it will be necessary to return to the objects discovered in the course of commercial excavations.

Wonderful gold and silver vessels for drinking began to appear on the antiquities markets of Europe and America during the 1950s – particularly rhytons in the form of horns terminating in animal protomes. It was said that some of them were found in the area of Ghaflantu, a small town only several kilometers from Ziwiye. Similar rhytons were also found in other parts of northwestern Iran.

This type of vessel is not at all unusual in the art of the Ancient Near East. Besides the fact that ceramic zoomorphic vessels, including rhytons, are well represented in collections of Urartian ceramics, the Assyrian reliefs of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. also have scenes of banquets in which Assyrian nobles are drinking wine from just such vessels. Ceramic rhytons are also encountered on earlier sites of north-



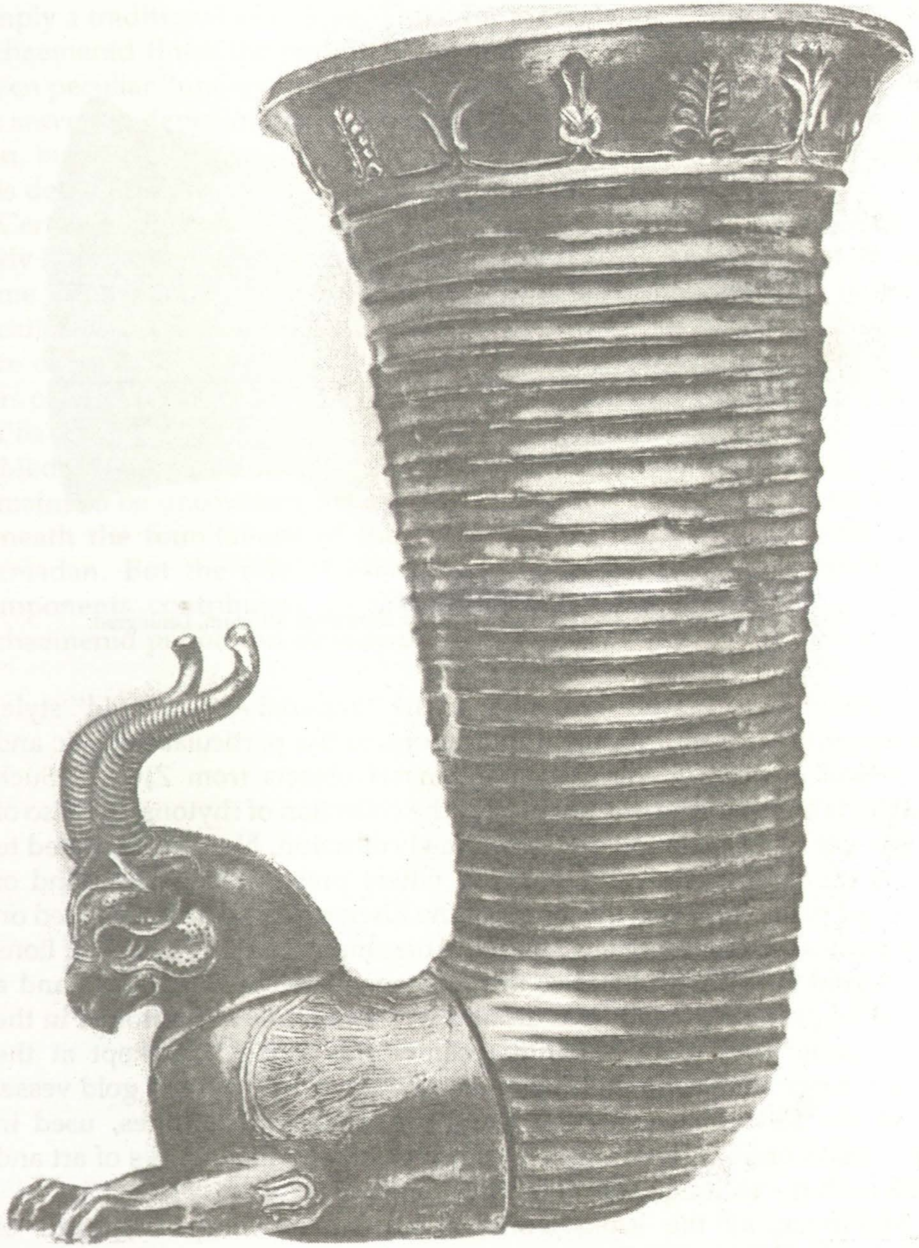
18 Silver rhyton. Ghaflantu region, 8th–7th century B.C., private collection.



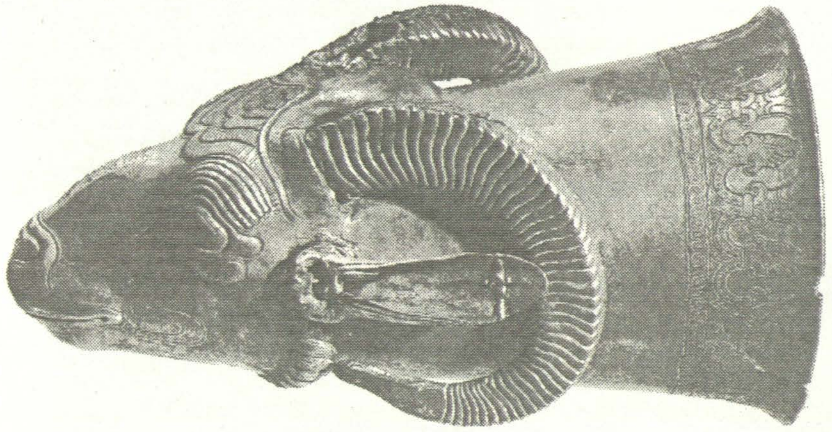
19 Gold rhyton. 5th century B.C., Metropolitan Museum, New York.

western Iran. They are very varied but two principal forms can be distinguished: the conical vessel ending in the head of an animal; and the rhyton in the form of a horn with a zoomorphic protome. Both of these types are also characteristic of Achaemenid art. For a somewhat later time there is clear evidence that such vessels, fashioned in precious metals, served as a sign of power. They may have also had the same functions at the Median and Achaemenid courts.

These two types of ceramic rhytons are found both in Ghaflantu and in Ziwiye. The Ziwiye rhytons, probably which were not part of the treasure but dug up at the citadel, are especially elegant. Their protomas are the heads of gazelles or mountain rams. A rhyton of this kind – though in silver – with the head of a gazelle was found somewhere in northwestern Iran and until recently was kept in one of the private collections in Iran. It is very close to the ceramic rhytons from Ziwiye, even in fine details. The rich ornamentation which decorates it is a replica of a gold pectoral.



20 Silver rhyton. 5th–4th centuries B.C., British Museum, London.



21 Silver rhyton. 5th–4th centuries B.C., State Hermitage Museum, Leningrad.

Some of these vessels were made in the "imperial Achaemenid" style; however we can find on them indications of the particular stylistic and technical devices of the early Median art objects from Ziwiye. Such methods are characteristic not only of the collection of rhytons, but also of a fine gilt silver plate (Norbert Schimmel collection, New York), dated to the sixth century B.C. [535, No. 78], where precisely the same kind of stylized palmettes as on the ibexes of the Ziwiye pectorals are depicted on the bodies of goats; similarly, both the ornaments and the bodies of lions on a gold vessel with handles in the shape of two-headed goats and a frieze of passant winged lions around its shoulder were fashioned in the very same Ziwiye style. (Until recently this vessel was kept at the archaeological museum in Cincinnati, USA [739; 419; 131]. A gold vessel from the Kevorkian collection along the same stylistic lines, used in depictions of lions, is connected with the early Median works of art and also with the technique of high-relief appliqué [739].

Moreover, all the listed works of art are an inseparable part of Achaemenid toreutics. But the master craftsmen who made these things were most likely Medes and used technical methods and practices which they inherited from their Mannean teachers. It should be noted that these early Median "indications" are essentially necessary features in the original specimens of early Median art, which were solidly related to its semantics. But even at the early Median stage they are gradually losing this link, and are perceived first as ornamental decoration and then as simply a traditional technique. Thus, for example, in Median toreutics of Achaemenid times the bodies of winged lions were almost obligatorily given peculiar "underwings," which on their ancestral Assyrian works of art served as depictions of the ribs of the animal – not only of the winged lion, but also simply a lion, winged griffin, *shēdu*, and so forth. At Ziwiye this detail has already become an ornament.

Certain features have already been discussed above which are typical of early Median architecture. Here we can again note the influence of those same civilizations: the false windows have striking parallels in the architecture of Urartu; the narrow arrow-slots are related to the architecture of Assyria. Later these methods are retained in the architecture of Fars of the Achaemenid period (the Zendan-i Sulaiman in Pasargadae, the Ka'ba of Zoroaster at Naqsh-i Rustam).

Median palace architecture, like the works of monumental art, still remains to be uncovered; the ruins of the royal residence of Ecbatana lie beneath the foundations of the houses of the modern Iranian city of Hamadan. But the role of Median art as one of the most important components contributing to the formation of the Persian art of the Achaemenid period can already be sketched.

2

THE SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS AND THE ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF THE ACHAEMENID EMPIRE

A MAJOR EVENTS OF POLITICAL HISTORY

In 558 B.C. Cyrus II became king of the Persian tribes. In 553 he fomented a rebellion against the Median king Astyages, upon whom the Persians were dependent as vassals. The war lasted three years and ended with a total victory for the Persians.

Having conquered Media in 550 B.C., Cyrus seized Parthia and Hyrcania, both of which had been part of the former Median empire, during the following two years. In 546 B.C. the Persians also conquered Lydia, which at that time was, along with Babylonia and Egypt, one of the most important states of the Near East. Between 545 and 539 Cyrus subjugated Drangiana, Margiana, Choresm, Sogdiana, Bactria, Areia, Gedrosia, the Central Asian Sakai, Sattagydia, Arachosia and Gandara. Thus, Persian rule stretched to the northwestern borders of India, the southern spurs of the Hindu Kush, and the Jaxartes River basin. Only after having reached the most remote limits of his conquests to the north did Cyrus set out against Babylonia.

In the autumn of 539 Babylonia was seized by the Persians. Cyrus formally preserved the Babylonian kingdom and did not change the social structure of the country. Babylon became one of the royal residences. The Babylonians retained their predominant position in the state apparatus, while the priesthood were given an opportunity to revive their ancient cults, which Cyrus patronized in every way possible. Moreover, the power of Cyrus in Babylon was not regarded as foreign rule, since he had received the kingdom from the hands of the god Marduk, having performed the ancient sacred ceremonies. Cyrus took the title of "king of Babylon, king of the countries," which was preserved by his successors up to the beginning of the reign of Xerxes.

After the capture of Babylon, all the Western countries up to the borders of Egypt (Syria, Palestine and Phoenicia) voluntarily submitted to the Persians. Trade groups from Phoenicia, as well as Babylonian merchants and merchants from Asia Minor, had a vested interest in the creation of a large empire with safe roads where all intermediary trade would be in their hands.

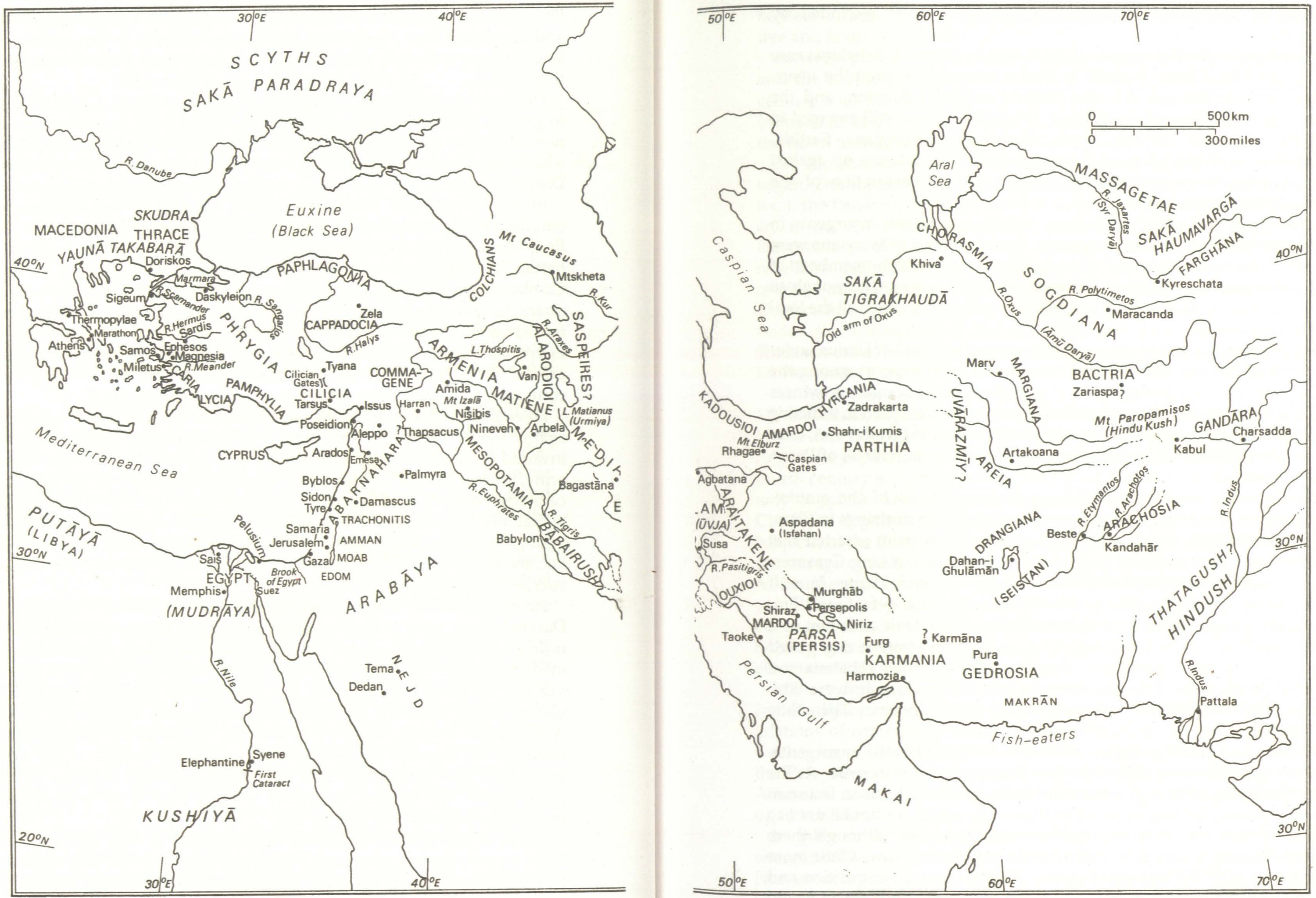
Having seized all the Near East to the borders of Egypt, Cyrus decided to protect the northeastern frontier of his state from incursions by the nomadic tribes of Central Asia. However he suffered a defeat and died in a battle against the Massagetai on the eastern side of the Oxus river (Amu Darya) in 530 B.C.

In August 530 B.C. Cambyses became the king of the Achaemenid empire. Shortly thereafter he began to prepare for an attack on Egypt. The Egyptian army was quickly routed, while the fleet surrendered without a battle. In May 525 B.C. Egypt was converted into a Persian satrapy. Cambyses became the king of Egypt and founded the 27th Dynasty of pharaohs. He was crowned according to Egyptian customs, utilized the traditional Egyptian system of dating, and assumed the title of "king of Egypt, king of the countries." Following the policy of Cyrus, Cambyses offered the Egyptians freedom in religious and private life. The Egyptians continued to occupy their positions in the state apparatus.

Having seized Egypt, Cambyses began to prepare for a campaign against the country of the Ethiopians. According to Herodotus, Cambyses invaded Ethiopia without sufficient provisions; cannibalism began in his army, and he was forced to retreat. Cambyses returned to the Egyptian capital of Memphis and suppressed disturbances which were taking place at that time in this country. In March 522 B.C. he received the news that his younger brother Bardiya had fomented an insurrection in Persia and had become king. Cambyses set out for Persia, but died *en route*, not having succeeded in returning to power.

According to the official version set forth in the Behistun inscription of Darius I, even prior to the campaign into Egypt Cambyses had secretly ordered the killing of his own brother Bardiya. A certain magus Gaumata made use of this fact and declared himself to be Bardiya, and on 11 March 522 B.C. he became king under the guise of the latter. By 1 June 522 Gaumata had obtained general recognition among the peoples of the Achaemenid empire. In order to restrain the subjected peoples from insurrection, Gaumata abolished taxes and military obligations for three years. His domestic policy was directed toward the abolition of the privileges of the Persian hereditary nobility and of its predominant position in the economy and society.

On 29 September 522 B.C., after seven months of rule, Gaumata was killed by conspirators as a result of an unexpected attack. These conspirators were representatives of the seven noble Persian clans. One of the conspirators, Darius, who was only 28 years old, became king and



Map 3 The Achaemenid empire.

restored to the nobility the privileges that had been rescinded by Gaumata.

Immediately after the seizure of the throne by Darius I, Babylonia rose up against him. Darius himself headed a campaign against the insurgents. In December 522 B.C. the Persians captured Babylon, and the leaders of the mutiny were executed. While Darius was still engaged in punitive actions in Babylon, Persia, Media, Elam, Margiana, Parthia, Sattagydia, the Sakai tribes of Central Asia, and Egypt rose up against him. A long, fierce and bloody struggle for the restoration of the Achaemenid empire had begun.

Dadarshish, the satrap of Bactria, moved against the insurgents in Margiana, and on 10 December 522 B.C. the inhabitants of Margiana were defeated. Slaughter followed this defeat, during which members of punitive expeditions killed 55,000 men. This figure alone is enough to show that the uprising in Margiana was a movement in which all the local people participated.

In Persia itself, a certain Wahyazdata emerged as a rival of Darius under the name of Bardiya, son of Cyrus, and found great support among the people. He also succeeded in capturing the eastern Iranian provinces right up to Arachosia. The generals of Darius only succeeded in inflicting a decisive blow against the troops of Wahyazdata on 16 July 521 B.C., after five battles. This was a major victory for Darius, since now all of Persia was in his hands.

But uprisings continued in the remaining portions of the empire. While Darius was engaged in the suppression of two uprisings in Elam, almost all of Media was in the hands of Frawartish, who asserted that he was descended from the clan of the ancient Median king Cyaxares. This uprising was one of the most dangerous, and Darius himself sallied forth against the rebels. The Medes suffered a defeat, and Frawartish was captured and brought to Darius, who dealt with him in a cruel fashion. He cut off Frawartish's nose, ears and tongue and poked out one of his eyes. After this, they carried him off to Ecbatana and impaled him there. The closest followers of Frawartish were also brought to Ecbatana and were imprisoned in the fortress. Then they were skinned.

By the summer of 521 B.C., after five battles with the insurgents, Darius's generals were able to restore their control in Armenia. At the same time an uprising was suppressed in Parthia and Hyrcania. But soon after this a new uprising occurred in Babylonia, which continued until 27 November 521 B.C. This was the last major uprising, although there nevertheless continued to be disturbances in the state. Now, a little more than a year after the seizure of power, Darius secured his position and shortly thereafter restored the empire of Cyrus and Cambyses to its old borders. Around 519 B.C. he began to implement his famous administrative and financial reforms.

Between 519 and 512 B.C. the Persians captured Thrace, Macedonia, and the northwestern portion of India. Thus, by the end of the sixth century B.C., the borders of the Achaemenid empire stretched from the Indus River in the east to the Aegean Sea in the west and from Armenia in the north to the First Nile cataract in the south.

Shortly thereafter, however, the weakening of the Persian empire began. During the Graeco-Persian wars (the first half of the fifth century B.C.), the Persians suffered a series of major defeats in continental Greece and in maritime battles. In the fifth century B.C., Egypt, Babylonia, Media, the provinces of Asia Minor and other countries frequently stirred up rebellions against the Persians. In 486 B.C. Egypt rose up and, having received assistance from the Athenians, resisted the Persian troops until 484 B.C. In the same year the Babylonians rose up against the Persians under the leadership of Bel-shimanni, and two years later under Shamash-eriba. In 460 B.C. new disturbances in Egypt were headed by the Libyan leader Inaros.

At the end of the fifth century B.C., new uprisings flared up in Asia Minor, Media, Egypt and other countries. These uprisings were caused by the fact that during the later Achaemenids the rule of the Persians ruined the population of the subjugated countries. At the beginning of the fourth century B.C., the Persians lost Egypt, which was conquered again only in 342 B.C. During the last Achaemenids, India was also lost, while Choresm, Sogdiana and the Sakai tribes became allies, as opposed to subjects, of the Persians. Moreover, from the end of the fifth century B.C., the satraps of Asia Minor continually waged wars among themselves in which the Achaemenid kings usually did not interfere. Some satraps would frequently rise up against the king; they relied upon help from Greek mercenaries and aspired to become independent. Finally, the court nobility gained great influence; with the help of conspiracies, they eliminated kings unfavorable to them.

Military defeats forced the Achaemenid kings to make radical changes in their diplomacy – specifically, they began to use bribery to poison the relations of some states toward others. Having a vested interest in the weakening of Greece, Persia assisted first Sparta and then Athens during the Peloponnesian War. In 449 B.C. the Persians offered money to the Athenians and induced them not to assist the Egyptians, who had risen up in rebellion.

In 358 B.C. Artaxerxes III became the king of Persia. Artaxerxes III energetically took up the restoration of the empire to its former extent. Numerous uprisings and mutinies in Asia Minor and Syria were suppressed, while Persian rule in Egypt and on Cyprus was restored. But this activity of Artaxerxes III came to an end in 337 B.C. – he was poisoned by his own personal physician upon the instigation of the court eunuch, Bagoas. Arses, the son of Artaxerxes III, was placed on the throne. Soon after this, in June 336 B.C., Arses became the victim of a new plot and was killed together with his entire family. Now the court nobility elevated to the throne the satrap of Armenia, who was a representative of a collateral line of the Achaemenid family, Kodomannos. He took the royal name of Darius III.

While the leading elements of the Persian nobility were engaged in court intrigues and coups, a dangerous opponent appeared on the political horizon. In the spring of 334 B.C. the Macedonian army of Alexander set forth on a campaign against Persia. This army numbered 30,000 infantry and 5,000 cavalry. Although Darius had more numerous troops at his disposal, they were markedly inferior to the Macedonian troops in terms of their fighting capabilities (particularly in comparison with Alexander's heavily armed infantry). The Persian command, which had long known that the Greek and Macedonian warriors substantially surpassed the Persians in the quality of their arms and tactical training, nevertheless did nothing to improve their own army and ignored all the achievements of Greek military arts. The Persians limited themselves to adding contingents of Greek mercenaries to their army, mercenaries who were now the most staunch units of the Achaemenid troops.

In the summer of 334 B.C. the Persian army suffered its first defeat at the river Graneikos, which was followed by a second defeat in October 333 B.C. in the battle at Issos. A decisive battle occurred 1 October 331 B.C. near Gaugamela in Syria, in which the Persians sustained a total defeat, after which they were no longer able to offer organized resistance to the Macedonian army. Within a year's time, the Achaemenid empire ceased to exist.

B STATE ADMINISTRATION

In terms of its socio-economic structure, the Achaemenid empire was distinguished by its mixed character and diversity. It included the regions of Asia Minor, Elam, Babylonia, Syria, Phoenicia and Egypt – all of which had had their own state institutions long before the emergence of the Persian empire. Side by side with these economically developed countries, the Persians also conquered the Massagetai and other tribes, who were at the stage of the dissolution of their kin-based tribal system and who engaged in the gathering of wild foods and lived within lineage alliances, as well as Lycia and some other countries, where matriarchal relations were still retained.

Given such diversity, the Persians encountered substantial difficulties during the creation of a system of administration for their conquered peoples. However, by comparison with the Egyptian, Assyrian and Babylonian rulers who had preceded them, the Achaemenids achieved great successes in the organization of state rule, having widely utilized, in particular, traditional forms of administration and business organization. After conquering Media, Babylonia and Egypt, the Achaemenid kings attributed to their conquests the nature of a personal union with the peoples of these countries, crowned themselves according to local customs, and used the traditional systems of dating and methods of administration that had developed historically. The Achaemenids tried to create normal conditions in the conquered countries for the development of the economy and transit trade. Cyrus and Cambyses retained with practically no alterations the local political structure within the vanquished countries, and offered the conquered peoples local self-government.

However, the uprisings of 522–521 revealed the weaknesses of the Achaemenid empire. Striving to avert separatist tendencies, Darius I carried out important administrative–financial reforms, which facilitated the creation of a stable system of state administration and control over the conquered countries, created order in the collection of taxes, and increased the contingent of troops. The implementation of these reforms took several years, and apparently began with the reorganization and unification of the system of administration of the provinces undertaken around 519 B.C. As a result of the successful carrying out of these reforms in Babylonia, Egypt and other countries, what was created was essentially a new administrative system, which did not undergo any fundamental changes prior to the demise of the Achaemenid empire.

In spite of Darius's reforms, the Persian empire remained a military–administrative union that could exist only as long as it succeeded by force of arms in keeping various peoples within the state structure. Tribal isolation and lack of unity were retained until the end of Achaemenid rule. Each province remained an independent socio-economic region with its own social institutions and internal structure; with its old local laws, customs, traditions, systems of weights and measures, and monetary systems.

Although local administrative, economic and legal traditions were not disrupted after the nearly universal conquests of the Achaemenids, significant changes gradually occurred in the structure of the administrative apparatus itself, as well as in the terms for the designation of civil servants. For example, in Babylonian documents many terms of the administrative lexicon are borrowed from Old Persian: *dātabara* (judge); *ganzābara* (treasurer); *hāmārakara* (accountant); *gitepatu* (purser); *bāra* (taxes); and so forth.

Darius divided the state up into administrative–taxation districts, which were called satrapies. As far as their dimensions were concerned, the satrapies were generally larger than the provinces of the earlier empires, and, in a number of instances, the borders of the satrapies coincided with the former political and ethnographic borders of the countries that had become part of the Achaemenid empire (for instance Egypt and Media).

A list of satrapies has been preserved in the works of Herodotus (III, 89–97), but it only partially corresponds to the list of the countries of the Achaemenid empire contained in the Behistun and other Old Persian inscriptions.[1] The following list, which is based upon geography, though not precisely accurate, appears in the Behistun inscription: "Persia; Elam; Babylonia; Assyria; Arabia; Egypt; (countries) which are (located) beside the sea, Lydia; Ionia; Media; Armenia; Cappadocia; Parthia; Drangiana; Areia; Choresm; Bactria; Sogdiana; Gandara; Scythia; Sattagydia; Arachosia; Maka."

Thus, Persia and Elam were enumerated first, then the countries to the west from the center of the state to Egypt; after this came the provinces of Asia Minor, and also Media and Armenia, and, finally, the Iranian countries to the east of Persia. India, Thrace, Macedonia (Skudra), Ethiopia (Kush), Libya (Put) and a number of other countries conquered later also appear at Persepolis and in other inscriptions. But these inscriptions also make mention of Caria and some other countries, which were conquered when Cyrus still ruled, but which were nevertheless not recorded in the Behistun inscription. (Concerning lists of vanquished peoples and depictions of their representatives on Achaemenid reliefs, *cf.* [706:42ff; 588:73ff].)

In the list of Herodotus, nearly 70 peoples and tribes from among the 20 satrapies are mentioned as comprising the Persian empire. Cappadocia and Arachosia are not listed by Herodotus, though they are among the 23 lands enumerated in the Behistun inscription. The twelve countries mentioned in the Behistun inscription comprise five satrapies in Herodotus's list, while the six countries given in the inscription as individual provinces were treated as parts of other satrapies in the list by Herodotus. This list begins with Ionia and the other satrapies of Asia Minor; then Syria and Egypt, Elam and Babylonia, and, finally, the countries situated between Iran and India, are named [35:340–8; 119:127–8; 422:304–5].

In some scholars' opinion, these discrepancies can be explained by the fact that in the inscriptions an enumeration of administrative districts is given, while in Herodotus a list of regions to be taxed is cited [580:21ff]. To this can be added the opinion of several scholars who propose that the

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[1] Besides the word *satrapiai* (satrapies), Herodotus uses interchangeably the terms *nomoi* (districts) and *archai* (provinces) [see 465:48].

inscriptions contain a list of the basic lands of the state within their former political borders and that these lands had nothing in common with the satrapies which were obliged to pay taxes (575:181, note 7; 409:44, 90; 465:299; 293:42; 184:111; 192:47ff; 511, 3:51). This opinion is in part based on the statement by Herodotus (III, 88) that the Arabs did not form a part of the structure of any of the satrapies, while the Behistun inscription mentions Arabia among the countries subject to Darius. Furthermore, this inscription mentions Scythia (Saka), which is also thought not to have been a separate satrapy. It has also been suggested that Herodotus, in that portion of his work that is of interest to us, did not have any official Persian source at his disposal, but used Hecataeus's work and map, in which Asia was divided into figures with the designation of various peoples within them [117:142; 119:128–34]. However there seems to be more evidence for the theory that the taxation and administrative districts actually coincided and that the list of satrapies in Herodotus went back through the works of Hecataeus or Dionysius of Miletus to an official Persian source from the royal chancellory in Ionia [511, 3:80, note 1; 35:340–1; 465:204; 259:139–40; 403:2666; 371:292ff]. Furthermore, in the official list the enumeration most likely began not with Ionia, as in Herodotus, but with the center, that is, Media or Elam. There likewise exist various opinions concerning the dating of the list of satrapies contained in Herodotus, but the majority of scholars attribute it to the middle of the fifth century B.C. (the rule of Artaxerxes I); *i.e.*, to the time of Herodotus himself, and not to the period of the reign of Darius I [413:58; 259:139; 227:6–7].

As far as the discrepancies between the data of the Achaemenid inscriptions and the list of Herodotus are concerned, they can easily be explained by the fact that the number of satrapies and their borders had changed as a consequence of new conquests or of a different breakdown of certain lands as a result of new administrative reforms. The general tendency of these reforms can be reduced to the fact that the number of satrapies increased, while their territory correspondingly diminished. For instance, under Darius I Asia Minor was divided into four satrapies, while under Darius III seven provinces were located there. Darius I separated Armenia from Media as an independent satrapy, while under Xerxes Armenia was divided into two satrapies (western and eastern), one of which occupied a portion of the former Urartu. Soon after the death of Darius I, Hyrcania was separated from Parthia and transformed into an independent province. Gandara, which was at first attached to Bactria in administrative respects, was established as an independent satrapy *c.* 508 B.C. In the fourth century B.C. the area "Across the River" and Cilicia were united into one satrapy.

The nature of the administrative reforms of Darius can be clearly traced back to the example of Babylonia and the regions to the west of it. After the capture of Babylonia, Cyrus at first left Nabu-ahhe-bullit, a Babylonian, as governor of the land; he had occupied this post even under Nabonidus. But in 535 B.C. Cyrus created a single province out of Mesopotamia and the area "Across the River"[2] – *i.e.*, the countries situated to the west of the Euphrates (Syria, Phoenicia and Palestine) – and appointed as its governor the Persian Gubaru, who was to occupy this post for at least ten years until *c.* 525 B.C. [600, pp. 61–2]. The latter left a significant mark on the Babylonian documents: those who managed his property are mentioned; there is reference to "the scribes and messengers of Gubaru"; and a canal and harbor are named after him [BE, Vol. 8, 80; *Camb.*, 96; Pohl, 1, 61; etc.].

By March 520 B.C. the Persian Ushtani had become governor of Mesopotamia and the area "Across the River." (Gubaru had probably perished during the uprisings of the Babylonians in 522–521.) But around 516 B.C. this huge satrapy was divided into two parts: Ushtani was named governor of Mesopotamia, while Tattenai became the regional chief of the area "Across the River." This Tattenai was, however, subordinate administratively to Ushtani [546:46; 293:51; 547:139].[3] According to the Book of Ezra (5:6), Tattenai had authority over Judah. In Herodotus's list, these countries appear as different satrapies: Babylonia and the "rest of Assyria" comprise the ninth satrapy, while the area "Across the River" is the fifth satrapy.

The satraps (Greek rendition of the Old Persian word *xšaçapāvan*, "guardian of the kingdom"; *cf.* also the Babylonian transcription *aḫšadarapannu*, the Lydian *kssadrapa*, etc.) stood at the head of the new administrative districts (*cf.* 142:103; 632]. According to Herodotus (III, 89), the post of satrap was first introduced by Darius I. However, as Grantovsky has shown, the title of satrap existed even prior to the emergence of the Median state for the designation of independent chiefs in northwestern Iran [24:154 and 323–4; 25:303]. It is possible that the post of satrap as regional chief also existed in Media, although it is also possible that it was introduced specifically under the Achaemenids [*cf.* 35:361; 24:323]. In any case, the post of satrap was known from the beginning of the emergence of the Achaemenid empire, but under Cyrus, Cambyses, and in the first years of the reign of Darius I, the local kings, chiefs and civil servants were the governors of many countries, as was also true in the Assyrian and

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[2] Ebir-nāri (Aramaic Abar-nahara) – under the Assyrians this was a geographical term to designate Syria, while during Achaemenid times it became a political concept [555:30ff.]

[3] Meissner assumed that the Ushtani of the Babylonian texts and Tattenai of the Book of Ezra were one and the same individual, who was simultaneously satrap of Babylonia and of the area "Across the River." This opinion was adopted by all scholars until Leuze demonstrated that it was incorrect. Olmstead thought that Ushtani was a Persian name, while Tattenai was an Aramaic name [465:40; 546:46; 690:241ff].

Median empires. The reforms of Darius, in particular, were directed toward concentrating the leading posts in the hands of Persians, and, as a rule, it was now precisely Persians who were appointed to the post of satrap.

Furthermore, under Cyrus and Cambyses the civilian and military functions were in the hands of one and the same individual, *viz.*, the satrap. Documents which attest to this in particular concern the activity of the satrap Gubaru in Babylonia and the area "Across the River"; Gubaru was simultaneously the civilian and military governor. In addition, according to the Behistun inscription, at the very beginning of the reign of Darius I the satraps Vivana, Dadarshish and others commanded their troops during time of war besides administering their own regions.

Darius limited the authority of the satrap, having established a clear-cut division of functions of satraps and military authorities. Now that the satraps were turned into mere civilian governors, they stood at the head of the administration of their own region; exercised judicial authority; kept track of the economic life of the country, the receipt of taxes, and the fulfillment of duties; provided for security within the limits of the borders of their own satrapy; supervised their local civil servants; and possessed the right to mint silver coinage. In times of peace, only a small personal guard was at their disposal (Herodotus, III, 128). As far as the army was concerned, it was under the authority of military leaders, who were independent of the satraps and subordinate directly to the king [212:328; 259:113–14].

After the death of Darius I, however, this requirement for a clear-cut division of military and civilian functions was not strictly observed, and frequently the authority of the satrap would depend on many factors. Under Xerxes and subsequent rulers, some satraps were dependent on military leaders, but it was not rare for satraps also to exercise military authority. As is clear from Herodotus, during the campaign by Xerxes against Greece some satraps commanded local military detachments from the regions under their jurisdiction. For instance Syennesis, the ruler of Cilicia, commanded the Cilician fleet. During this campaign, the troops of six satrapies, beginning with Ionia and ending with the Transcaucasus, set forth in ten separate contingents under different commanders. Usually, scholars have held that the satraps were the leaders of the troops in this campaign, but Meyer suggested that these military leaders were not the satraps, with the exception only of Achaemenes, satrap of Egypt, who commanded the Egyptian fleet. Nevertheless, in Meyer's opinion, both civilian and military authority were in the hands of the satraps at all times [511, 3:71]. Such a conclusion, in our view, is too categorical and in a number of cases is not supported by the sources [*cf.* 92:113]. But in the fourth century B.C. the satraps usually also exercised military command over the troops of their own regions, being subordinate only to the commander-in-chief, who often was also the satrap of some region. For instance, during the war with Alexander the Great the Bactrians fought under the command of their own satrap.

Xenophon (*Oec.* IV, 10–13) continually says that among the Persians the military command was totally separated from the administrative command. In his words, the commander of the garrison was bound to ensure peace in the region under his jurisdiction, while the ruler of the region was responsible for economic prosperity and the payment of taxes. However, continues Xenophon, the satrap managed both. It is obvious that by the beginning of the fourth century B.C., when Xenophon wrote the *Oeconomicus*, the authority of the satrap was already no longer limited to civilian functions. According to Xenophon (*Oec.* IV, 16), one such satrap, Cyrus the Younger, performed the functions of both military leader and civilian governor, superbly supporting order in the country and defending it. Xenophon calls this powerful satrap "the most glorious of the kings," and, according to Plutarch (*Lysand.* 9), Cyrus the Younger even had a throne of gold and silver. Although he was the male heir apparent, Cyrus the Younger's status must not be considered an exception, since, when he died, his place was occupied by Tissaphernes, who was simultaneously military leader and satrap. Later on Pharnabazos was to become the military leader in Asia Minor, while retaining his post of satrap. According to Xenophon, satraps were the leaders of the troops of Artaxerxes II during the revolt of Cyrus the Younger. During the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., the suppression of uprisings of conquered peoples was the duty of the satrap. Thus, the satraps in the fourth century had troops at their disposal (examples being the governor of Syria, Megabyzos, Tissaphernes of Caria, etc.), and this provided them with the opportunity frequently to rise up in revolt against the central authority.

Judging by a letter of the satrap Arshama (AD IV) addressed to Armapiya, the chief of a garrison of one of the fortresses in Egypt, the functions of military and civilian authorities under the jurisdiction of the governor of the country were demarcated [348:210]. As can be ascertained from the letter of Arshama, during an uprising in Egypt, Psamshek, manager of his estates, reported the following to him: "Armapiya, along with the troops which are under his command, is not subordinate to me in the affairs of my lord." Arshama orders: "Concerning the affairs of my estate about which Psamshek will give you instructions, you and the troops which are under your command will be subordinate to him and do [as he says] ... If Psamshek hereafter sends me (any more) complaint concerning you, you will be called to strict account and punished."

From the reign of Xerxes onwards, two or more satrapies were sometimes in the hands of one man. For instance, the authority of Cyrus the Younger was extended to the Lydian, Ionian and a substantial portion of the Daskyleion satrapies; later on, Tissaphernes ruled all these satrapies and Caria. In the middle of the fourth century B.C. the satrap of Cilicia, Mazaeus, was simultaneously the governor of the area "Across the River."

Apparently, both before and after the reforms of Darius the term of the satrap was not limited to any definite period of time. For instance, Arshama was satrap of Egypt from approximately 454 to 404 B.C. According to Herodotus (III, 160), Darius I granted as a gift to the Persian Zopyros governorship for life in Babylon. Frequently the authority of the satrap was hereditary: for instance, the Persian Artabazos, who founded a hereditary governorship, became satrap of the Hellespont Region in 476 B.C.

The title of satrap was held not only by governors of major administrative districts, but also by chiefs of smaller regions that constituted a portion of a satrapy. They were subordinate to their respective governors. Hence biblical sources[4] speak of 120 to 127 satrapies from the Indus to Ethiopia, instead of the 20 satrapies mentioned by Herodotus. In the Aramaic documents the Iranian word *xšaçapāvan* corresponding to "satrap" is usually translated by the term *peḥā* ("governor"), and is applied, in particular, to the governors of Samaria and Judah, Sanballat and Bagoses, although these countries were not independent satrapies but constituted a portion of the area "Across the River" [*AP*, p. 30:1, 29; *cf.* also the Aramaic translation of the Behistun inscription: *AP*, p. 252:18; BIAV p. 34:31]. The seal of the "governor of Judah" is also preserved. At the same time, Ushtani, the governor of Babylon and the area "Across the River," was also called *peḥā*, although in a number of Aramaic texts the title *'ḥšdrpny'* is also encountered, which is a translation of the Iranian *xšaçapāvan*. In Herodotus and Thucydides, the word "satrap" (*satrapēs*) is not used, but instead they use the words *archon* and *hyparchos*. Much later, Greek authors usually used both the latter words and "satrap" as exact synonyms. Xenophon used the word "satrap" to designate not only the governors of the twenty administrative districts (*Oec.* IV, 11), but also the rulers of the smaller regions, for instance, Troad [*Hell.* III, 1, 10].

The satrapies were divided into smaller administrative districts – even down to villages. Judging by the Egyptian texts, Egypt retained the traditional division into nomes, which were simultaneously administrative and judicial districts and which had existed even as early as Saite times. The Persians did not introduce any substantial changes into this provincial system, limiting themselves to replacing a portion of local civil servants with Persians. Among them were, in particular, the chief of the city of Coptos, Atiyawahy, and another Persian, named Ariarshan, from whom many inscriptions have been preserved. Such governors of districts bore the Persian title *frataraka*. It is a commonly known fact that in the southern district, which stretched from Aswan to Hermopolis, the Persian Vidranga was the *frataraka* in 410–408 B.C., while the Persian Damadin followed him. Their residence was situated in Aswan, where the chancellory with the "scribes of the province" was also located. The cities and villages had their own chiefs, who were subordinate to the *frataraka*. In the Aramaic papyri such chiefs are called *peḳīd* ("the officer") [174:319; Kraeling, pp. 32–3]. Their authority was usually transferred by inheritance. In Egypt the majority of such civil servants were of local origin, but sometimes there were also Persians and Babylonians among them. Similarly, the Babylonian satrapy was subdivided into provinces and cities, at the head of which stood Persian and local civil servants, who bore the Babylonian title *paqdu*.

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[4] Esther 8:9; Daniel 6:1; *cf.* Joseph., *Ant. Jud.* XI, 3, 2; XI, 6, 1.

The countries which enjoyed autonomy in internal affairs could also be included in the ranks of the more extensive satrapies. This particularly pertains to the remote provinces, in whose internal affairs the Persian administration seldom intervened, governing them with the assistance of local princes and tribal chiefs and limiting themselves to receiving taxes. For instance, the satrap of Judah, which constituted a portion of the administrative district of the area "Across the River" (the fifth satrapy of Herodotus), had his own governor in Samaria with the right of supervision over the deputy in Judah; gradually Judah began to enjoy great independence in domestic affairs.[5] From 516 B.C. there was no Persian deputy in Judah. At first Sheshbazzar from the ancient Davidic house was the regional leader in Jerusalem, and then followed Zerubbabel, who was subordinate to the governor of Samaria. In the fifth to fourth centuries B.C. the rulers of Judah were also appointed from among the local residents. In particular, this practice is attested in the seal used by the ruler of Judah in the fifth century: "Judah, governor (*pḥw'*) Yehoazar" [293:182–3]. In 458 B.C. the Jew Ezra was appointed deputy of Judah. Ezra had served, up to this time, as a scribe in the central administrative apparatus in Susa. In 445 B.C. he was replaced by the Jew Nehemiah, who likewise had been in Susa prior to this. As a result of the reforms carried out by Ezra and Nehemiah, a foundation was laid for the Jerusalem community, which was united around the local temple and headed by the high priest. This community had its own organs of self-administration, in whose affairs the Persian satrap did not intervene; it enjoyed substantial privileges. Gradually, the high priest became the governor of Judah [*cf.* 115:52].

Bagoses (in the papyri Bagohi), whose ethnicity is difficult to determine, was appointed regional chief of Judah after Nehemiah. His name is Iranian; however, as early as the sixth century B.C. (not to mention later periods), some Jews bore this and other Iranian names. In addition, all the four known deputies of Judah prior to Bagoses were of local origin. The opinion is widely held that beginning with the time of Bagoses the autonomy of the Jerusalem community was curtailed and restricted to religious affairs, while adminstration was in the hands of the Persian governor. But relatively recently epigraphic evidence has appeared to the effect that the high priests of Jerusalem were indeed the governors of the country, administered it, collected taxes in the name of the Persian kings, and minted silver coins – under the authority, however, of the central government which the satrap represented. For instance, in the fourth century B.C. the high priest Jehezekiah was both the religious leader of the community and its secular ruler [639a:237–8]. Thus, although the central administration in Jerusalem was subordinate to the satrap, the high priests stood at the head of the community and local adminstration. As a result of the activity of Ezra and Nehemiah, Judah, from the fifth century B.C. onwards, was gradually transformed into a theocratic state, which was characterized by the exclusiveness of the communal life, while Jerusalem became a self-governing city of the temple district [568:205–10; 293:148].

The hereditary governors or rulers were usually under the control of the satrap, and in Asia Minor both urban communities and local dynasties were so administered (examples are the rulers of the Dorian city of Cos; the Carian princes in Halicarnassus, of whom the queen Artemisia enjoyed the greatest glory, having taken authority into her own hands after the death of her husband; this authority was then inherited by her son and grandson, but they were also called satraps). During the second half of the fourth century B.C., the region of Aeolis in Asia Minor was under the supreme command of Pharnabazos, the satrap of Phrygia, while Aeolis's satrap was Zenis from the city of Dardanus in the Troad. According to Xenophon (*Hell.* III, 1, 10–18), after the death of Zenis, Pharnabazos was preparing to appoint another to his place, but Mania, Zenis's wife, having bestowed upon the Persian governor and his retainers expensive gifts, requested that the post of satrap be handed over to her. She promised to deliver the taxes punctually. Mania was appointed satrap and participated in the campaigns of Pharnabazos against the recalcitrant tribes of the Mysians and Pisidians. But Mania's son-in-law, feeling ashamed to endure the rule of a woman, killed her and appealed to Pharnabazos with a request to name him satrap. However Pharnabazos declined the gifts from the killer and declared to his ambassadors that he preferred to accept these gifts along with the head of the criminal.

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[5] In Alt's opinion, Judah in 537 B.C. was joined to the province of Samaria. Kreissig holds that it still remains unclear whether Judah was directly subordinate to the governor of the area "Across the River" or to his deputy in Samaria [116:328; 446:39].

Semi-autonomous temple communities also existed in Asia Minor. For instance, from the fifth century B.C. onwards, the Mylasan community was headed by priests, who were the rulers of the Hecatomnids' clan; they obtained the authority of satraps and began to mint their own coinage [66:147]. Prior to the beginning of the fifth century B.C., tyrants ruled in the Ionian cities of Asia Minor, while on the island of Naxos a council of aristocrats ruled. "Free" Greek cities with a democratic organization also existed in Asia Minor. Sanballat was governor for nearly forty years in Samaria, and then this post was handed down by inheritance in his family,[6] which was the usual practice in the Achaemenid empire. A local dynasty, the rulers of which bore the title of *syennesis*, ruled in Cilicia.

There was never a Persian satrap on Cyprus, and the administration there was in the hands of local rulers. Cilicia, Paphlagonia, Lycia, Caria and the Phoenician cities had their own rulers with the right of hereditary transfer of power. (Later, after the suppression of the uprising in 345 B.C., a Persian governor was appointed for the Phoenician city of Sidon.) Popular assemblies also existed alongside the rulers in Phoenician cities, and these were organs for local self-government and the courts. Diodorus Siculus calls the Phoenician cities autonomous, while according to Curtius (IV, 3, 23), all the affairs in Tyre were settled by the elders. In the fourth century B.C., the cities of Phoenicia united into a confederation with the center in Athar (the Greeks called it Tripolis – "the three cities"). Three separate settlements for the residents of Sidon, Tyre and Arados were situated there, and meetings of representatives of the confederation took place annually.

Such remote tribes as the Arabs, Colchians, Ethiopians, Sakai, etc. were governed by their own tribal chiefs. Moreover, the Arabs, Cilicia, the Phoenician cities and some other peoples not only enjoyed local autonomy, but were also considered allies of the Persian king, inasmuch as they had voluntarily come over to the side of the Persians and had provided them with great assistance in the capture of other countries. In the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., many tribes (especially those who lived in inaccessible mountains and on the littoral of the Black and Caspian seas) gave the Persian kings unending difficulties. The Cadusians, the Pisidians, the Cardouchoi and the Mysians often broke the law and raided other countries. When travelling from Susa to Persepolis, even the Persian kings had to pay tribute to brigands from the tribe of the Uxians. Sometimes these bellicose tribes would conclude an alliance with the Persian king or his satraps.

Concerning Persia itself, it is not totally clear whether it was administered by a satrap or whether it was under the direct management of the royal administration. According to a report by Herotodus (III, 70), the father of Darius, Hystapes, was the governor of Persia, while Arrian (*Anab.*, III, 18) testifies to the fact that under Darius III Ariobarzanes was the satrap of Persia. It might be possible to propose that in the interim Persia was likewise under a satrap administration; however, it is clear from the Behistun inscription that the father of Darius, Wishtaspa (Hystapes), was the governor of Parthia and Hyrcania, not Persia.

A large central apparatus headed by the royal chancellory was created in connection with the implementation of new reforms. The central state administration was situated in Susa – the administrative capital of the Achaemenid empire. This most important capital of the empire was located in the center of power and was connected by a canal with the Persian Gulf and by roads over dry land with Ecbatana, Babylon and Persepolis [309:7–9]. Orders went out from Susa to all the provinces, while reports from the satraps and other civil servants came back to the king. Many highly-placed individuals and petty civil servants arrived in Susa on state business from various ends of the empire, beginning with Egypt and ending with India. Major state chancellories with a large staff of civil servants and scribes, who were engaged in carrying on official correspondence, existed not only in Susa but also in Babylon, Ecbatana, Memphis and other cities.

A regular postal service, which, to all appearances, could be traced back to the Assyrian post, was put into smooth working order for the administration of the provinces. Stations with inns, which were situated at a distance of a day's passage from each other and which were guarded by the state, existed on the major roads. Heavily guarded sentry fortifications were located along important passes. For example, 111 such stations were situated on the route from Sardis to Susa. According to Herodotus (V, 53), this route amounted to 13,500 stages or 450 *parasangs* (nearly 2,470 km) and went through Cappadocia to the upper Euphrates; from there it passed to the Tigris and then through the Zagros mountains to Susa. Usually one travelled 150 stages in a day, while the entire route required 90 days. However, with the help of a change of horses and messengers one could surpass 300 km a day, and the entire distance from Sardis to Susa could be traveled in seven days. Herodotus (VIII, 98) claims that there was nothing faster in the world than the royal couriers. A special horse and a messenger, who conveyed the news to the subsequent courier, were needed for each day along the entire route. According to Herodotus, the Persians called this horseback postal service *angaros* (a word whose origin and meaning are not clear.)

It can be seen from the Fortification texts that horses were changed at stations which were located roughly at a distance of 30 km from each other. These texts contain extremely copious information on the delivery of state mail to various regions of the state, beginning with Egypt and ending with India. Civil service letters and reports from highly-placed officials to each other and to the king, and orders from the latter, in particular, were preserved among the documents. The reports which were addressed to the king were usually forwarded to Susa, and, most likely, in the majority of cases were actually destined for the royal chancellory. Couriers were sent to nearly all the satrapies from Susa with orders from the king. Naturally, it was necessary to have at one's disposal a sizeable staff of professional couriers who were always available to the state for the regular delivery of state instructions.

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[6] *AP*, 30, 31; Nehemiah 2:10, 19; Joseph., *Ant. Jud.* XI, 7, 2. Still unpublished papyri from Samaria also mention the governors from the family of Sanballat [213, pp. 110ff]. Portions of a throne similar to the royal throne, which, apparently, belonged to a local governor, have been found on the territory of Samaria [664:42].

Provisions were issued from royal store-rooms for messengers and other civil servants *en route*. The texts also establish the distribution of provisions to highly-placed officials, to the retinue accompanying them and to their servants. The chief of a detachment carried "a document with a seal," issued by the king or by one of the highly-placed officials. One such document has been preserved: it is a letter in Aramaic, issued by Arshama, satrap of Egypt, and addressed to the stewards of his estates in various countries with instructions concerning the distribution of provisions along the road to persons traveling upon his orders from Susa to Egypt.

The majority of Persepolis texts on travel rations record the issuance of foodstuffs for one day. From this it is possible to draw the conclusion that stations with reserves of foodstuffs were situated at a distance of one day's travel on the main roads. It is precisely at such intermediate stations that vouchers were drawn up concerning the receipt of foodstuffs along the road, which were then delivered to Persepolis for accounting purposes. The couriers and other civil servants (accountants, judges, scribes, etc.) who traveled on state business received 1 to 1.5 liters of flour per day, and also wine or beer, and sometimes meat. According to one document (PF 1555), the 24 men who were *en route* from Bactra to Susa[7] received one liter each of wine in addition to flour.

Riding on the major roads was probably safe for private individuals. Herodotus (V, 35) writes that all the roads in the Persian empire were guarded and that highway patrols checked travelers to see what they were carrying. Ezra, having arrived in Jerusalem from Susa, stated that he felt ashamed to ask the king for a military detachment for protection *en route* (8:22). The Greek authors tell us that in Asia Minor during the governorship of Cyrus the Younger it was possible to see along the edges of the roads the bodies of those put to death for brigandage on the roads.

It is difficult to say whether there was supervision over the movement of residents, or whether unknown individuals were detained. According to Xenophon (*Anab.*, I, 9, 13), the Persians themselves, as well as the Greeks and others, could ride safely with their property wherever they wished throughout the territory of Cyrus the Younger, as long as they did not commit any crimes. But when Artaxerxes I sent his courtier Nehemiah from Susa to Jerusalem, he gave him letters for the deputies of Samaria and other neighboring regions in order that they would ensure the royal envoy free passage through the territories under their authority.

Smoke signals were also used for the delivery of urgent news. For instance, this is the way that Mardonius reported to Sardis, where Xerxes was staying at the time, about the capture of Athens (Herod. IX, 3).

A leather sack has been preserved in which official documents from Susa and Babylon were delivered to Egypt. Letters from the Egyptian satrap Arshama to those managing his estates were found in this bag. The outside of the letters contained the addresses and a short content of the messages, while on the inside, the letters themselves were also written on leather. Cyrus the Younger regularly sent letters from Asia Minor to his mother Parysatis, who lived in Susa (Aelian., *Var.* XII, 1). Plutarch (*Cim.* 19) tells us about the letter-carriers of the Persian king. Bullae have been found in Daskyleion in Persian and Akkadian with the inscription "I, Xerxes, the king." The royal orders addressed to the satrap in Daskyleion were authenticated with these seals. The decrees themselves, obviously, were written in the Aramaic language [*cf.* 128:125ff]. The Book of Esther (3:12; 8:10) says that the letters authenticated with the royal seal were delivered as appointed "on horses, on dromedaries, and on royal mules." Herodotus (III, 128) tells about a Persian civil servant who arrived with the instructions to eliminate Oroites, the satrap of Lydia, having with him a decree with the royal seal. The commentator from antiquity writes that "the seal of the Persian king, according to some sources, consisted of the royal portrait; while according to other sources, the portrait of the Persian king Cyrus; and, according to yet a third group of sources, it bore the image of Darius's horse, owing to which he had attained the royal power" [48:231]. Obviously, such great discrepancies in the descriptions of the seal are explained by the fact that various images were on the seals.

Dozens of impressions of cylinder seals with the image of the king, as well as seals of highly-placed officials (for example, of Bagapata, a cousin of Darius I and one of the chiefs of the Persian fleet) have been found in Persepolis. According to the testimony of one Persepolis document, the "seal of Pharnaces, the son of Arshama" (this legend was engraved on the seal in the Aramaic language) was lost in 500 B.C. Pharnaces, who occupied the post of manager of the royal household, states: "The seal which had previously belonged to me has been replaced. Now the seal which has been applied (to) this document is mine." [*PF* 2067 and 2068; *cf.* 384:271]. One seal impression from Susa, with the image of a winged bull, likewise has an Aramaic legend with an indication of the name of its owner, probably a royal servant [121, 1:286, No. 2223]. A seal with an Aramaic legend containing the title of the chief of the financial department *šsḥmr* has been found in Syria [387:42]. A cylinder seal made of chalcedony, which, in the opinion of its publisher, belonged to the Persian governor in the Bosporus [100:18], has been found along the northern Black Sea coast. Also well known is the seal of the satrap Arshama with the Aramaic legend "seal of prince Arshama" [*AD*, p. 4, note 1]. A cylinder seal of the fifth century B.C. with an Aramaic inscription, probably belonging to the Persian governor of this region [published anonymously in *Archaeology*, 19:3 (1966), p. 126], has been found in the ancient city of Gordion in Asia Minor. Private individuals had stamp seals. Greek seals are also to be found among the Persepolis seal impressions; they can be identified both by their style and by their content (for example, some show Heracles or Athena on a chariot; one of the seal impressions discovered in the military barracks of Persepolis depicts a naked female dancer). These seals were probably carried by Greeks who were in the royal service in Persepolis [627, 2:9ff].

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[7] In his history of Persia Ctesias provided a description of this route from Susa to Bactria and India, indicating the number of post stations and the number of days necessary to travel between them. When describing the highways, Xenophon makes use of the Persian measure *parasangs*. One can conclude from this that the Persians themselves had measured the roads.

In antiquity the postal service existed only for the needs of the state. The numerous private letters of Achaemenid times were sent sealed in clay envelopes from Babylonian cities either when it was convenient to send them with someone or through messengers or agents who were in service to private individuals. In one letter the Babylonian Arad-Bel writes to his sister: "Let the gods Bel and Nabu pronounce well-being and health to my sister. This is terrible! Why do I not receive news from you? My heart is filled with joy having learned that you are pregnant ... Send me through someone or another who is taking this route, a *mina* of silver ... [and] the pouch ..." [*CT*, Part 22, no. 40]. In another letter the sender complains that a certain Nabu-nadin-shum beat him unmercifully and broke his finger [*YBT*, Vol. 3, no. 123].

Letters sent by three individuals from Memphis at the turn of the sixth to fifth centuries B.C., to members of their own families in Syene and Luxor, are preserved in Egypt. These letters did not reach their destination, but instead turned up in a manner that would seem mysterious to us – in a pitcher found in a cemetery in Hermopolis. The end of one letter is curious: "If I find someone who is reliable, I shall send you something." The sender of another letter reports: "A snake had bitten me, and I was dying, but (even) you did not send me [letters asking] whether I was alive or (already) dead." Nevertheless, death was apparently not all that imminent, since the sender of the letter asks the addressee to send him castor oil and other items [Bresciani–Kamil, IV, V]. A letter–ostracon written around 475 B.C. says: "Look after the children now, until Ahutab arrives and entrusts them to others" [331:204ff].

The royal court spent autumn and winter in Babylon, summer in Ecbatana and spring in Susa, but the time of the great holidays was spent in Pasargadae and Persepolis. The coronation and the elevation to the throne took place in Pasargadae.

Different systems of government existed in various countries of the empire, and the Persians extensively utilized the business methods and clerical techniques developed by their predecessors; however, the central apparatus was organized according to the Babylonian model, and the Babylonian methods of government became widely dispersed throughout the entire state.

The satraps and military chiefs were closely linked with the central administration and were under the constant control of the king and his civil servants. Continuous supervision over everyone in the center and in the provinces was carried out by the "ears" and "eyes" of the king, who were independent of the satraps and other local authorities. These agents were directly subordinate to the king and reported to him about any seditious speech or act. The Greek authors[8] tell us in detail about these agents of the secret police, while the title "ears of the king" is also known from Aramaic papyri of Achaemenid times in the form *gaušaka* ("listener", *i.e.*, informer). In these papyri one also encounters the Iranian title *tīftāye*, a term which designated the civil servants of the police. The "eye of the king" in Old Persian probably sounded like *pati-āxša* [for information concerning these terms, *cf.* 612; 486:229; 264:119, note 2; 556:160ff; 475:92ff; 387:98–9]. The secretary assigned to the satrap was also independent of the latter and was considered a royal scribe. He constituted the link between the central government and the chancellory of the region in question (Herod. III, 128). According to Xenophon (*Oec.* IV, 10–11), the governor of the region and the military chief also frequently reported one another to the king. When the king was on the road, the police functions were likewise performed by royal carpet-bearers, who were concerned with the comforts of the kings on a campaign, stretching soft Persian rugs under him and clearing the road of undesirable persons with whips. Such carpet bearers are depicted on the Persepolis reliefs with their rolled-up carpets and whips in hand [381:67].

Supreme control over the entire state and all the civil servants was entrusted to the *hazārapatish* – "the commander of a thousand" (or, in the Greek translation, *chiliarch*). The latter was simultaneously the chief of the king's personal guard (of the first thousand regiments of the "immortals") and chief of the central state chancellory. He also reported to the king about visitors and introduced them to him. Nepos (*Con.* 3) writes that the

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[8] Aesch., *Pers.* 950; Herod. I, 114; Xen., *Cyrop.* VIII, 2, 10–12; Plut., *Art.* 12.

chiliarch occupied the second position after the king in the entire state and that no one was admitted to the king without his consent [*cf.* also Diod. XVIII, 48; *cf.* 410:14ff, 35ff; 486:228; 492:663, note 8). Under Artaxerxes III the authority of the *chiliarch* was limited in favor of the eunuch Bagoas, while the *chiliarch* Aristazanes was "the most trusted of the friends of the king after Bagoas" (Diod. XVI, 47).

In cases of necessity the king sent out special inspectors to investigate matters in the provinces. For instance, in one document dated at the beginning of the fifth century B.C., the distribution of travel expenses to eight highly-placed Persian dignitaries and the individuals accompanying them was recorded; those persons were sent from the royal residence in Susa to Borsippa (Babylonia) for the performance of some important assignments:

> 6 *minas* to Ushtani; 52½ *shekels* for 7 pitchers of wine, of which Ushtani [received] one [pitcher], Artabanu received 1, Bagazushtu – 1, Huruzushtu – 1, Aspamishshu – 1, the scribe–interpreter Liblut – 1 . . . 6 rams of which Ushtani received 3, Shatabaru received 2, Liblut – 1, ½ *mina* of silver to Marduka, Ushtani's translator . . . 45 *shekels* of silver for jam, ¼ [*shekel*] for vegetables, ¼ [*shekel*] for fish . . . [Ungnad, pp. 79–81].

As can be seen from the text, the individuals mentioned in it received a definite sum of money, a portion of which was destined for the acquisition of wine, rams, vegetables, etc.

The satrap's chancellory was organized exactly like the royal chancellory in Susa. A large number of civil servants and scribes were under the command of the satrap, including the chief of the chancellory ("the lord of the order"), the one who kept track of the performance of official instructions; the one who managed the treasury house (*ganzabara*); the tax-gatherers; the heralds (*azdākara*) who publically proclaimed official orders; accountants (*hāmārakara*); judicial investigators (**frasaka*); and numerous scribes [610:264; 660:204; 507:24; Kraeling, pp. 33–4]. Such a system for the chancellory was also characteristic for the smaller regions, cities, etc. However, such a carefully organized system of administration functioned less smoothly in práctice. For instance, a sealed document was sent to Pharnaces, manager of the royal household, by one of his subordinates, in which it was pointed out that the accountants were not submitting their financial reports, but the messenger sent to Pharnaces with the document fled [Fort. 2858; the text is still not published; *cf.* 345:31].

As early as under Cyrus II, the state chancellories in the western part of the Achaemenid empire used Aramaic, and later, when Darius carried out his administrative reforms, this language also became official in the eastern satrapies and was used for general contact among state chancellories for the entire state [611:55; 320:1–9, 95–103; 591:63ff, 68; 168:76ff].

Indeed, Aramaic was most convenient for the purpose of creating a uniform official system of contact for all the administrative institutions of the various satrapies of this vast state with its numerous different languages, and also for facilitating political and trade relations between different countries of the empire. In terms of its simplicity, ease and accessibility Aramaic writing was incomparably simpler than any cuneiform system; hence as early as the eighth century B.C. Aramaic became the international language of trade and diplomacy in the Assyrian empire. Judging by the find of a seal – a bulla made of bitumen – at Karmir-Blur, with the help of which, most likely, the papyrus text was authenticated, Aramaic was even used in the Urartian kingdom [68:75–6; 92:107]. Aramaic writing also penetrated Iran quite early (in the eighth to seventh centuries B.C.), a fact which is documented by inscriptions on cups and other objects of dishware [538:119ff; 253:108ff]. In Babylonia under the Achaemenids, Aramaic became the spoken language of the majority of the population of the country, gradually supplanting Akkadian in everyday life, though the latter remained the language of literature, religious services and judicial documents. In the fifth century B.C., we encounter on cuneiform tablets of the Murashu archive numerous short dockets in Aramaic, written with ink or scribbled with a hard object. These additions provide short synopses of the cuneiform texts, the reading of which, obviously, would require much time. The adoption of the Aramaic language by the Achaemenid chancellory struck a heavy blow at the Babylonian schools of scribes and played a crucial role in the disappearance of cuneiform documents.

Documentation for the exceptionally widespread dissemination of Aramaic in the Achaemenid empire comes from the numerous papyri, parchments, and inscriptions on stones, coins, weights and seals, written in the language and found throughout the empire. All countries in the empire used the so-called imperial Aramaic language, which was standardized in the fifth century B.C., and used the same formulae for documents [Kraeling, p. 4; 610:226–8; 449; 591:46–55]. Briefly stated, under the Achaemenids the Aramaic language achieved its most widespread dissemination [168:65ff].

The most brilliant example of clerical work in the Aramaic language and in Aramaic script is provided by the letters of Arshama, satrap of Egypt, addressed to the stewards of his estates. They were written on leather in the imperial Aramaic language and sent from Susa and Babylon, where Arshama was temporarily sojourning, to Egypt. Herodotus (V, 58), Diodorus (II, 32, 4) and other Greek authors also testify to the fact that the Persian chancellory used leather. Thucydides (IV, 50, 2) writes that a message from the Persian king with "Assyrian (*i.e.*, Aramaic) letters" was delivered to the Greeks. A diary or annals were kept at the court of the

Persian king, and detailed reports about all important events were carefully entered in them.[9] According to Herodotus (VIII, 90; *cf.*, Plut., *Them.* 13), the Persians even kept records during battles. For instance, when the Battle of Salamis took place, Xerxes sat solemnly in state at the foot of a mountain and dictated to his numerous scribes the names and origins of the military chiefs who had distinguished themselves. According to the Book of Esther (6:1), during sleepless nights the Persian king would summon a secretary and order him to read the chronicled accounts about the events of his times and the times of his predecessors. According to the Book of Ezra (6:2), a decree from Cyrus on permission to restore the Jerusalem temple was kept in the royal archives in Ecbatana. There is no need to doubt that all these documents were compiled in Aramaic and were written, most likely, on leather.[10] (The theory of Lecoq, who considers that these texts could have been compiled in Old Persian, seems to us unlikely [459:99].) Xenophon (*Hell.* V, 1, 31) cites excerpts from a text about the terms of the peace concluded between the Persian king and Sparta in Susa in 387 B.C. The originals of this and similar documents were apparently also compiled in the Aramaic language. The reports of the satraps to the king and the correspondence of the king with the satraps were also written in Aramaic.

The scribal schools produced many scribes. There were translators who knew several languages at the courts of the king and satraps, and in the army.[11] As can be seen from the documents, there were representatives of many peoples in Persepolis, and numerous translators were required for coordinating their work [*cf.* 192:52]. Similarly a large staff of translators at the royal court in Susa was required to provide the necessary clarifications to civil servants who had arrived there from all parts of the state. For instance, according to Herodotus (III, 140), when the Greek Syloson from Samos appeared in the palace of Darius I, translators were immediately found at the court and addressed him with questions in Greek.

Official documents were sent in Aramaic from the center in Susa throughout the entire state. Having received these documents locally, the scribes, who knew two or more languages, would translate them into the native language of the leaders of the regions, who did not know Aramaic [610:199–205; 119:58–64; 611:41]. In addition to Aramaic, which was common throughout the entire state, scribes in various countries also used the local languages for the compilation of official documents, and thus clerical work was conducted in two languages. For instance, the administration in Egypt was bilingual: alongside Aramaic, the language of the Demotic documents was also used for communication with the local population [173:133]. Documentation of this, in particular, can be found in the correspondence of the satrap Pherendates with the priests of the temple of the god Khnum in Elephantine [174:319]. The Egyptian laws, which were codified during the reign of Darius I, were written in Demotic and were accompanied by an Aramaic translation. Complaints and petitions addressed to the satrap and other officials were likewise often written in Demotic. Furthermore, the judicial and business documents of the Egyptians were written, as a rule, in Demotic [575:189; 511, 4:43ff]. The Babylonians also continued to use the Akkadian language for the compilation of private legal documents.

Similarly, the chancellory used Greek along with Aramaic when corresponding with the Greek population of Asia Minor, a practice which is demonstrated by the letter of Darius I to Gadatas, who was administering his estates near Magnesia. According to Plutarch (*Arist.* 10; *Lys.* 20), Mardonius, the Persian general, and Pharnabazos, the satrap in Asia Minor, wrote letters to Sparta and other Greek cities. Obviously, these letters were also in Greek. Biblical sources assert that the Achaemenids wrote "to each region and to each people in their own language" (Esther 1:22; 3:12; 8:9). Meyer's view, that the correspondence of the central government with the provincial chancellories was conducted in Old Persian, while the corresponding documents were accompanied by Aramaic translations [511, 4:43ff], has not been corroborated.

In Persepolis, the capital of Persia itself, the Elamite language was also extensively used in clerical work alongside Aramaic, until in the second half of the fifth century B.C. it was finally supplanted by Aramaic. Initially, the Elamite tablets in the Persepolis archive of the treasury were attached to leather scrolls with the official documents in Aramaic; testimony to this can be found in the 199 clay labels with impressions of seals on which Aramaic inscriptions have been preserved. In Cameron's opinion, the remnants of the cords inside the cuneiform tablets and the traces of the attachment of these cords on the clay seals testify to the fact that the Elamite tablets were attached to the leather scrolls with the official documents in Aramaic; the latter were most likely destroyed during the fire in Persepolis in 331 B.C. [*PTT*, pp. 26ff]. But his hypothesis that the instructions of the Persian civil servants were first translated into Aramaic and sent to the treasury, where they were translated into Elamite, is hardly likely, since Aramaic loan words are not encountered even once in the Elamite tablets. At the same time, the great number of Old Persian words on these tablets is very striking, and we can probably conclude from this that the Persian civil servants gave their own orders orally and that these orders were then translated simultaneously into Elamite and Aramaic, since the former was the administrative language of Persia and the latter was the official language of the empire [119:78–82]. Numerous

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[9] Herod. VII, 100; Diod. II, 3; Esther 2:23; 6:1; 10:2; Joseph., *Ant. Jud.* XI, 6, 4; XI, 6, 10.

[10] Although papyrus was already the usual writing material in Egypt in ancient times, its widespread export to other countries only began in post-Achaemenid times.

[11] Xen., *Anab.* I, 8, 12; II, 5, 35; IV, 2, 18; IV, 4, 5; Plut., *Them.* 6; Curt., V, 13, 7.

Persian words and entire expressions are encountered in the letters of the satrap Arshama, which were written in Aramaic. In these documents some forms of greeting and other expressions are calques from Old Persian, while the titles of officials, as well as judicial, technical and professional terms, are Aramaic transcriptions of Iranian words [*cf.* 333:245–6]. One also encounters a substantial number of ancient Iranian titles of officials, as well as judicial, technical and professional terms, in Babylonian administrative economic and business documents.

The Persians occupied a special position in the state apparatus: the most important military and civilian posts, not only in Persia itself but also in other countries, were concentrated in their hands. After the reforms of Darius, Persians appeared even in the provincial offices of Babylonia and of other countries as judges and the like. However, the Achaemenid empire could not exist without the extensive utilization of the cultural, legal and administrative traditions of the conquered peoples, and the Persian administration often employed the services of representatives of these peoples in state administration. In Babylonia, Egypt, Asia Minor and other countries the judges, managers of chancelleries, governors of towns, nomarchs, managers of state arsenals, tax collectors and leaders of the royal construction projects were usually Babylonians, Egyptians, Jews, Aramaeans, Elamites, Greeks and so forth, with their centuries-old technical and administrative experience and knowledge of local customs, traditions and laws. Judging by the personal names of individuals in the administrative personnel, Elamites worked as accountants in the royal household in Persepolis, while the overseers and managers of the treasury store-house were Persians. Sometimes the most fortunate foreigners could achieve high positions: for instance, the Carian Datames became the ruler of Caria; the Hyrcanian Artabanos became the chief of the bodyguards of Xerxes; the Egyptian Tamos became the deputy of Cilicia (at the beginning of the fourth century B.C.); and the Jew Nehemiah was a confidant of Artaxerxes I, occupying the important post of royal cup-bearer in the civil service hierarchy.

C LEGAL SYSTEMS

Extremely diverse legal systems and institutions, which ranged from the very primitive to the highly developed, existed in the Achaemenid state. The conquests of the Persians did not lead to dramatic changes in the legal traditions and norms of the vanquished peoples. In Babylonian business documents from Persian times one encounters the expression "according to the law (*dāta* – an Iranian word) of the king." For instance, according to one document, it was necessary to pay a duty to the palace from a certain locality "in accordance with the laws of the king" [*NRV* 681;*cf.* also *Dar* 53 and *UET*, Vol. 4, 101, where the Iranian word *dāta* is mentioned as early as 514 and 506 B.C.]. This word is encountered in the Behistun and other ancient Persian inscriptions, as well as in the books of Ezra (7:26 and elsewhere) and Esther (1:8 and elsewhere) where the "laws of the king" are mentioned. In all probability, reference here is to the general legal order established by the Achaemenids, and not to a single uniform legal code, which, despite Olmstead's opinion to the contrary, scarcely existed at all [547:128; *cf.* 456:224–5; 565:279].

Intensive work on the codification of the laws of the conquered peoples was carried out during the reign of Darius I, while ancient laws, particularly the Code of Hammurappi, were also studied, although it is difficult to agree with Olmstead that Darius and his advisers had this code in front of them as a model during the compilation of the royal laws [547, pp. 127–8]. The laws existing in various countries were made uniform within the limits of a given country, while where necessary they were also changed according to the policy of the king.

According to Plato (*Leg.* 695c) Darius I set up the laws, after having demanded the tribute from the conquered peoples which had been promised to the Persians since the time of Cyrus. The Persians had their own primitive law based on customs. The decisions of the king were the court of last resort and were not subject to change, but the king had to rule in accordance with the traditional practices of the Persians and had to seek the counsel of the representatives of the seven leading noble clans who played a major role in the legal life of the country. In particularly important cases the king assembled a council which consisted of representatives of the nobility. In the early period a popular assembly of the Persian tribes settled the most important cases (*cf.* Herod. I, 125). The king could establish new laws by referring to the wishes of Ahuramazda; the basic principles of these laws were set forth in the inscriptions of Darius I. In the Behistun incription (I, 20 and following; IV, 33 and following) he declares:

> I rewarded well the man who was loyal; I severely punished the man who was treacherous. By the favor of Ahura-Mazda these countries (*i.e.*, the countries of the Empire) have followed my laws. As was said to them by me, thus it was done . . . Darius the king says: these countries that rebelled, the lie made them rebellious. You, who hereafter will be king, guard yourself vigorously from the lie . . . Ahura-Mazda bore me aid . . . because I was not treacherous, neither a liar nor an evil-doer, neither I nor my clan. I have acted according to justice. I did evil neither to the weak nor to the powerful.

According to Herodotus, Persian youths studied only archery and how to speak the truth. In political life, devotion to the king was considered to be the truth.

If one is to believe Herodotus (V, 12), Darius I himself sometimes investigated law suits. Judges were personally appointed by the king for consideration of the most important crimes. For instance, for the trial of the Armenian king, who betrayed the alliance with the Persians, Cyrus II convened the Persian and Median leaders (Xen., *Cyrop*. III, 1, 8). Artaxerxes II set up a court from among the noble Persians to decide the fate of the criminal Tiribazos (Diod. XV, 10, 1). When Themistocles fled to the Persian king, Xerxes's sister, whose sons had perished during the war in Greece, requested that the king hand over to her this deserter for punishment. When the request was denied, she appealed to "the most noble of the Persians" to help her achieve "justice." The crowd approached the palace, demanding the punishment of Themistocles, and the king promised to appoint a court of noble Persians for a decision on this case (Diod. XI, 57, 1–5). The decrees of such judges were not subject to appeal unless the king himself wished to rescind them.

Ordinary crimes were considered by royal judges,[12] who were appointed from among the noble Persians for life with hereditary transfer of their posts. They settled litigation between Persians and also interpreted laws and customs (Herod. III, 31).

Royal judges are mentioned for the first time under Cambyses II (Herod. III, 14). According to the account of Herodotus (V, 25), a royal judge by the name of Sisamnes took bribes. Cambyses ordered his skin to be stripped off him, then to be dressed and used to upholster the judge's chair that had belonged to the bribetaker. Then Cambyses appointed the son of the one who had been executed judge, and ordered him to hand down judgments while sitting on this chair. Another royal judge who took bribes was sentenced by Darius I to crucifixion, but, prior to the execution, the king decided that the past merits of this judge exceeded his guilt and took pity on him (Herod. VII, 194). After the capture of Egypt by the Persians, the royal judges ordered the execution of ten noble Egyptians for each soldier from the army of Cambyses who had perished (Herod. III, 14). The Persian Orontes was excluded from the list of royal friends for giving false information (Diod. XV, 11, 2).

Actual Persian laws have not survived, unless one considers the isolated and, apparently, often imprecise references to them in the Greek authors. The Books of Esther (1:19) and Daniel (6:9 and 12) say that "according to the law of the Medes and the Persians" it was forbidden to alter any decree of the king after it had been made. Before appealing to the king, it was necessary to bow down to the earth (*proskynesis*), but the Achaemenid kings were not considered to be gods, and the *proskynesis* was only a ceremonial greeting [for an explanation of this custom and a reference to sources and literature, *cf*. Bickerman: 149:241ff; *cf*. 669, 2:359].

Crimes against the king or his family were punished by death. Often the entire family was punished for such crimes, which helped guarantee against them. Curtius Rufus (IV, 6, 5) recounts that when Darius III fled after the battle of Issos, Alexander the Great could not learn his whereabouts from the captured Persian prisoners, since, according to their customs, they faithfully kept this secret.

According to Herodotus (VII, 2; *cf*. also Xen., *Cyrop*. VIII, 7, 9), Persian custom required that before undertaking a campaign the king had to appoint an heir to the throne. The lack of precisely established laws of succession to the throne led to endless harem and palace intrigues. According to his own choice, the king could appoint any of his sons as heir to the throne, but usually the eldest son was selected. If the Greek authors are to be believed, Persian law required that one of the sons who was born after the accession of the father inherit the throne (see, for instance, Plut., Mor. 488D and subsequent sections). The coronation of the king was considered a state-wide holiday, which continued for several days, and all work stopped during this period (Joseph., *Ant. Jud*. XI, 6, 1).

It is possible that the common custom among the Achaemenids of marrying one's closest relatives originated from the practice of matrilineal inheritance (for instance, Cambyses II was married to both of his sisters; Darius II to Parysatis, etc. [42:465, note 142; 494:117]). Judging by Diodorus (X, 30–1), this custom extended beyond the limits of the royal house; the Persians would usually marry their own consanguineous sisters. In the opinion of Cameron, the custom of the Achaemenid kings of marrying sisters developed under Elamite influence [186, p. 20], but Yusifov suggests that such customs had their origin in earlier primitive communal relationships and were not borrowed from the Elamites [106:17ff].

Only representatives of the seven leading Persian clans, as well as the king's mother and his principal wife, could appear before the king without being summoned, while all others had to request a reception through the *hazārapatish*. Under fear of the death penalty, no one, except the king, nearest relatives, and eunuchs, could see the royal wives and concubines; there is not a single female image to be found among the numerous reliefs in Persepolis. Plutarch (*Them*. 26) writes that a wild jealousy was characteristic of the Persians, not only in respect to wives, but also in respect to female slaves and concubines. They kept the latter under lock and key in order that outsiders might not see them; during trips they carried them in closed carriages. The widely known Biblical tale relates how during a reception the Persian king ordered his wife, Vashti, to appear at a feast in order to show her to the people. She refused to follow the orders of her husband since they contradicted the Persian laws forbidding women to be shown to outsiders. However, at the same time, the king himself was the lawmaker, and all his orders were subject to unconditional obedience. For this reason, he convened the interpreters of the laws and before them indicted Vashti, who was then deprived of the dignity of queen and turned into an ordinary concubine (Esther 1:11–13).

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[12] *Dātabara* is an Iranian word, literally meaning "bearer of the law." It is attested in the Book of Daniel (3:2), Babylonian documents, Elamite texts from Persepolis (382:425), and also in post-Achaemenid times and in many Iranian languages.

The king would usually eat with the queen and his mother, while a servant with his mouth tied, so as not to defile the king with his breath, held a large fan over him to keep away the flies and stood motionless. The courtiers dined in a neighboring room. But when the king wished to drink and make merry (the Persians usually drank wine after eating), he would send away his mother and the queen to retire and would summon the female dancers (Plut., *Mor.* 140 B).

As early as the time of Cyrus II, a law existed which stipulated that Persian kings, upon entering Pasargadae, would give to each woman they encountered one gold coin, which meant that some stingy rulers would avoid trips to this city (Xen., *Cyrop.* VIII, 5, 21; Plut., *Mor.* 246B).

The death of a king and of his closest relatives was mourned by all, and the inhabitants, as a sign of grief, would rend the clothing that they were wearing and cut off their hair and even the manes of their horses. Their wails of grief could be heard everywhere (Herod. IX, 24; Curt. V, 12, 12 and others).

According to Herodotus (I, 137), people were never executed for their first crime among the Persians, and they were sentenced to death for repeated crimes only in the case where the guilt of the one who was on trial outweighed his merits. Such a legal approach, of course, could occur in certain instances, but, on the whole, Herodotus undoubtedly idealized Persian laws. According to the testimony of Xenophon (*Anab.*, I, 6, 6–11), after the Persian Orontes had betrayed the satrap Cyrus the Younger for the third time and was sentenced to the death penalty, the individuals who had tried him touched his belt, thus indicating his doom. Diodorus (XVII, 30) also recounts such a custom.

For interrogation purposes, beating with lashes and torturing with scorpions were practised (Herod. III, 130). The punishments were, as a rule, very severe. Histiaios, the tyrant of Miletus, who rose up in revolt against Darius I, was crucified. "According to the custom of the Persians," the right hand and head of the dead Cyrus the Younger, who had rebelled against Artaxerxes II, were cut off. According to Xenophon (*Anab.*, I, 9, 13), one could often see "malefactors" with chopped-off feet and hands and gouged out eyes along the main roads of Asia Minor within the realm of Cyrus the Younger. They placed poisoners with their heads on a wide stone and squeezed them with another stone, until they were flattened. Individuals who had been insubordinate to the authorities, and sometimes even slanderers, had their heads severed (Herod. VIII, 90; Strabo XV, 3, 7).

If we are to believe Plutarch (*Mor.* 173D), Artaxerxes I replaced the punishment of beating and tearing the hair from the heads of noble Persians with beating their clothes and hats, which had been removed. According to the testimony of Ctesias (*Pers.* 72–3), Amytis, the sister of Artaxerxes I, became the mistress of a Greek physician, Apollonides, who was attached to the royal court. The king handed over the seducer to a court under Amestris, his mother, who, after having him imprisoned for two months in a dungeon, ordered him to be buried alive.

The family in Iran was not monogamous and it was permitted to have many legal wives and also concubines. It was also possible to marry close relatives, for instance, nieces and even consanguineous sisters. Herodotus (III, 31) tells us that Cambyses fell in love with his own sister born of his father and mother and wished to marry her, but this was forbidden by law. Cambyses assembled the royal judges and asked them whether there was not a law allowing one to marry one's own sister. The judges, not wishing to violate the customs of their own people but at the same time fearing for their lives, replied that there was no such law, but that there was a law permitting the king to do anything that he desired. Every year the king would distribute gifts to parents with many children (Strabo XV, 3, 17). Some information has also been preserved about wedding customs. During the feast, the bride, having tasted the wine, would sit down by her betrothed, who would embrace and kiss her. The newlyweds ate from the same loaf of bread, sliced with a sword into two parts (Arrian. VII, 4, 6–7).

Schaeder has proposed that the Zoroastrian book of ritual instructions and laws, the *Vendidad*, was written in Aramaic as early as the early Achaemenids, probably under Darius I [614:26; for details about the Avestan legal norms, see 182], but such a hypothesis seems very unlikely (see below, p. 323).

Under the Achaemenids, Babylonian law reached its pinnacle. It was the model for the legal norms of the countries of the Near East and began to spread to the West. Babylonian private law, as well as the formulae of documents, was not substantially changed under the Persians, although many public institutions were subjected to Iranian influence and many Iranian terms were encountered in legal documents of the fifth century [195:5ff]. Furthermore, at the end of Darius I's reign, reforms in the economic structure and state administration also entailed some changes in the field of private law [603:218, note 1]. Nevertheless, the Achaemenid administration utilized the local law during contact with the Babylonians, and the Persians, who had begun to take an active part in the business life of the country, were guided by Babylonian laws.

Judicial authority in Babylonia belonged to the satrap, the royal judges, and the popular assembly of citizens possessing full rights. The highest judicial authority in the country was exercised by the satrap, and there were often stipulations in legal documents that the violator of a contract "will suffer the punishment of Gubaru, the governor of Babylonia and the area 'Across the River'" [*TCL*, Vol. 13, no. 168 etc.]. Soon after the conquest of Babylonia by the Persians, "the judges of Cyrus, the king of Babylonia, the king of the countries" [*Cyr* 112] or even more frequently "royal judges" [*YBT*, Vol. 7, 159, 189 and others] were already mentioned in the judicial documents. They rendered judgments on the most important cases; in particular, cases of murder were within their competence.

In the eighth and seventh centuries, the largest cities of the country (Babylon, Sippar, Nippur, Uruk and others) were released from military conscriptions and construction work, and a ban on punishing the inhabitants of these cities without a trial was secured. However, even as early as under the Chaldaean kings (particularly Nabonidus), these privileges began to be abolished. In Achaemenid times, the many centuries of competition between the royal court and the communal popular assembly ended with the defeat of the latter, while property disputes and individual crimes of a local character were now subject to its jurisdiction.

Sometimes the civil servants of the temple (*e.g.* the chief priest in the city of Sippar) were provided with substantial judicial authority, and this authority was extended not only to individuals who belonged to the temple personnel. However, the decisions of the temple judges could be over-ruled by the royal judges from whom they received various instructions. The temple judges also supplied the royal judges with necessary information [28:21ff]. The royal court usually consisted of five to seven individuals. Sometimes the composition of the court was mixed, and both royal judges and elders from the ranks of full citizens were included in it. The sale of houses and land holdings was often carried out in the presence of the temple officials. Some private legal documents of the fifth century on huckstering, purchase and sale, rent, etc. were compiled in the presence of judges. In particular, there is often mention of "the judges of the canal (of the god) Sin," in whose presence contracts on the rent of land and other documents were drawn up [BE, Vol. 10, 7, 8 etc.]. A number of documents from the fifth century mention the "judge of the gates of Gubaru" (the satrap of Babylonia in the second half of the fifth century), the Babylonian Apla (BE, Vol. 10, 128 etc.). One document from Borsippa was compiled in the presence "of the judges of the palace gates" [*NRV* 717]. Some documents were officially registered in front of the commandant of the fortress and chief of the garrison [264:109].

The Greek authors report that the Persian kings sent Persians into the conquered countries as judges, and the Babylonian texts support this. For instance, the documents from Nippur mention the Iranian Ishtabuzanu, the "judge of the canal of Sin" [Kr 185 etc.]. Later on he transferred this post to his own son Humardātu [BE, Vol. 10, 34]. The document on the receipt of a loan of 45 *mina* of silver by the well-known Babylonian dealer Marduk-naṣir-apli from the house of Egibi was officially registered in the presence of the Persian judge Ummadātu, the son of Udunātu, while another text mentions a judge who was the Persian Ammadātu [*TCL*, Vol. 13, 193; *Dar* 435; both texts are dated to the time of Darius I].

In documents of the fifth century we repeatedly encounter the Iranian word *dātabara* (*cf.* above), to designate the post of judge. It is a synonym for the Akkadian *dajānu*. For instance, the Babylonian Zittu-Nabu was *dātabara* of the Iranian noble Artaremu [Kr 202 etc.]. Not infrequently during lawsuits the parties would give "the oath of the king" or would swear by the Babylonian gods and the Persian kings.

The members of the royal family and many Persian nobles, who owned extensive estates in Babylonia, as well as in other countries, had at their disposal their own judicial–administrative system. For instance, the queen Parysatis, wife of Darius II, kept a certain Babylonian as a judge, who is mentioned in the documents as the "judge of the house of Parysatis" [BE, Vol. 10, 97 etc.].

The so-called Neo-Babylonian Laws, which have been only partially preserved (chiefly sections relating to marriage and property law), continued to function under the Achaemenids in Babylonia. Like the earliest legal documents from Mesopotamia, the Neo-Babylonian Laws provide legal guidance for numerous contingencies of everyday life [these laws were published most recently by Szlechter: 662].

The Laws of Hammurappi also continued to be rewritten and studied during Achaemenid times, as is attested by the numerous copies of them dating from the sixth and fifth centuries. Some sections of these laws were also valid under the Achaemenids – above all the sections on thirty-fold compensation for stolen temple and royal property. For instance, according to a document from Uruk, which was drawn up in 528 B.C., four men, who were engaged in earthworks near a canal, noticed a flock of ducks which belonged to the temple of Eanna, seized two of them, and killed and buried them in the earth in order to eat them later. But this became known and the criminals were tried at a session of the popular assembly in the presence of the temple officials. The accused fully confessed to the crime they had committed, and the popular assembly reached a decision that they must reimburse the temple thirty-fold for the damage [Figulla, pp. 95ff].

The following two documents from the archives of Murashu are most interesting. A certain Shiṭa' drew up a contract with the house of Murashu for the felling and delivery of 500 logs of a certain size. In the case of violation of the terms of the contract, Shiṭa' was obliged to pay ten *mina* of silver as a fine, and, in addition, he was to be given 100 blows with a reed cane. According to the second document, two persons drew up a contract with the house of Murashu, in order to level the land. If they did not perform this work by the stipulated deadline, then they would be given 100 blows with a reed cane and the hair on their heads and beards would be plucked out, while they themselves would be confined to the workhouse of one of the slaves of Murashu (Stolper, CBS 5146 and CBS 5213).

Neo-Babylonian Laws required written determination of business transactions that had been negotiated. The contracts were drawn up by professional scribes in the presence of a group of witnesses (ranging from three to ten or more), in two copies, according to certain formulae; each of the parties received a copy. The documents emphasized that the contracting parties were entering the transaction voluntarily. Documents on the sale of movable personal property (slaves and livestock) and immobile assets were drawn up according to different formulae. In the fifth century, contracts in the form of a dialogue were particularly widespread. These contracts indicate the terms of the transaction and the site and date of its compilation, and determine the punishment for any violation of the stipulated terms. The seals of the witnesses and contracting parties, or the impressions of the fingernails of the latter, were affixed to the documents [599:190]. The usual interest on a loan was 20 per cent a year, but sometimes it even reached 40 per cent.

During Achaemenid times a woman in Babylonia (as well as in Elam and Egypt) enjoyed great independence and could have her own property, of which she was freely in charge (she could bestow it as a gift, sell it, exchange it, let it out for rent, etc.). After the death of her husband, according to the law, it was necessary for the widow to apportion a part of the property of the deceased, even if she had no children. A woman could not act as a witness in the drawing up of contracts, but she could act as a contracting party and have her own seal. The family in Babylonia, as well as in the majority of other countries of the Achaemenid empire, was in the main monogamous, and a man who took a second wife was usually obliged to pay a high fine for the benefit of the first wife, unless she was childless [*cf.* 197:79ff]. Nevertheless, the laws did not prohibit one from taking a second wife, even if the first one was not childless. If there were children from both wives, then when the father's property was partitioned, the children of the first wife would receive two-thirds of the inheritance, while the children of the second wife would receive one-third. Such a division of property was prescribed by Neo-Babylonian Laws (8–9, 15) and is corroborated by legal documents [*NRV* 1]. If a woman died childless, the dowry was returned to the house of her father. The daughters of well-to-do parents would receive a substantial dowry: for instance, one of the daughters of the businessman Itti-Marduk-balaṭu from the family of Egibi received ten *mina* of silver, five slaves and household utensils as a dowry [*Cyr* 143].

Private legal documents concerning the sale of slaves, land, divorce, promissory notes, manumissions, etc., which were compiled between the years 375 and 335 B.C. in the presence of the local ruler Hananiah, have been preserved from the Achaemenid province of Samaria. Usually the seal of the governor was also affixed to the documents [214:45].

Little information has been preserved concerning Egyptian law in the epoch under consideration. It was during Achaemenid times that Egyptian law first came into contact with Babylonian law and began to feel its influence [*cf.* Kraeling, p. 52]. In the opinion of Taubenschlag, Egyptian law borrowed greatly from Babylonian law, although a more cautious position is taken by San-Nicolò, who notes that Egyptian documents differ substantially from Near Eastern documents both in terms of formulae, and in the absence of seals. Seidl believes that there is still no indisputable evidence testifying to the influence of Babylonian law on Egyptian law [670:185; 598:217ff; 637].

The reverse side of the papyrus containing the so-called "Demotic Chronicle" reports the codification of Egyptian laws by Darius I. In 518 B.C., "according to the magnanimity of his heart," he ordered the satrap of Egypt to send to him in Susa "wise individuals from the ranks of warriors, priests, and scribes" in order to collect and write down "the laws of the Pharaoh, temples and warriors" that were still in force in the country up to its capture by the Persians ("from the 44th year of Amasis to that day when Cambyses became the lord of Egypt"). The codification of the laws took 22 years and was completed in 495 B.C. Apparently, Darius made the necessary alterations in these laws and then approved them. After this, they were officially fixed in the Demotic and Aramaic ("Assyrian") scripts,[13] and were apparently duplicated and distributed to the judges in Egypt. Demotic copies were intended for the latter, while the Aramaic copy was intended for the satrap and his chancellory. The tradition concerning this codification was also well known to Diodorus (I, 95, 4), who calls Darius I the sixth legislator of Egypt (Amasis was the fifth). Unfortunately, these laws, like those from earlier periods in the history of Egypt, have not been preserved [DC, pp. 30–2; 584:179ff]. Only fragments of Egyptian laws have been preserved in a Demotic manuscript of the 3rd century B.C.; it was partially translated into Greek a century later [486a; 582a].

Judging by private legal documents, no significant changes occurred in Egyptian law during Achaemenid times [173:154]. The supreme judicial authority in the country belonged to the satrap, who could give orders concerning flagellation, incarceration and the execution of criminals. Petesi, a scribe from the temple of Amon, appealed to the satrap for justice in one of the papyri from the time of Darius I. This Petesi had been deprived of his job, house and other property owing to intrigues of the priests, and had been rebuffed in the lower courts, where the judges had been bribed by the priests. The outcome of this verbose narrative is not known, since the papyrus contains only the complaint of the petitioner [335, 3, No. 9; 173:168ff].

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[13] Analogously, when using the term "Assyrian" writing, the Greek authors had in mind Aramaic writing along with cuneiform [509:308; 538:122ff].

All the administrative districts of the country had their own judges. In some nomes the court was headed by a civil servant with the Iranian title of *frataraka*, who was also simultaneously the chief of the garrison. The royal judges were subordinate to the nomarchs and satrap and, in all likelihood, were appointed by the king [341:81].

Upon the sale of slaves, livestock and land, the seller guaranteed that this was his property and that no one had legal rights to lay a claim to it. In the case of such claims that could not be disproven, the seller had to pay a fine [637:62–3].

In the case of non-payment of a debt by the stipulated deadline, the creditor could seize the property of the debtor, his slaves and even his children. For instance, a document from the time of Darius I sets the terms of a loan in wheat. If this loan was not paid off by the deadline, the creditor could take possession of all the property of the debtor: grain, field, slaves, female slaves, and sons and daughters [483:20ff].

The Egyptian family was monogamous. An Egyptian woman enjoyed substantial rights, and the husband did not have the right to pawn her as security for debts. The Demotic matrimonial contracts provided for the right of a wife to retain her own property in marriage and in the case of divorce; she also had the right to transfer it to her children as an inheritance. A woman could also own property, after having separated it from her husband's property. If the husband obtained a divorce, he had to apportion a certain share of the property to the wife. Divorce could also be carried out upon the initiative of the wife, but, in such a case, she had to return the money which she had received from her husband as a marriage gift and could not lay claims upon property acquired jointly with the husband [the edition of Egyptian marriage contracts: 477; *cf.* 341:86]. A daughter inherited the property of the parents equally with her brothers and could dispose of it at her own discretion. But the power of the father over children in Egypt was very substantial; he could pawn them as security for debts [637:55].

As far as the Jewish colonists in Elephantine were concerned, they mainly used the law brought from their own homeland, a law on which Babylonian and Egyptian legal views had exerted a certain influence.

However, substantial differences have begun to emerge among scholars investigating the question of the influence of the cuneiform tradition on Aramaic formulae. Yaron thinks that, although Egyptian influence is evident in Aramaic papyri, it is precisely this cuneiform legal tradition that had exerted a crucial influence on the emergence of the Aramaic formulae. In his opinion, this was the Syrian–Canaanite branch of the cuneiform tradition, while the Neo-Babylonian tradition did not have any influence on the legal features of the Aramaic papyri. Muffs believes that, although the Aramaic scribes of Elephantine had also adopted some Egyptian elements, they incorporated them into a legal system which was cuneiform in its origin. He proposes that the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian documents served as the prototype for the Aramaic legal papyri [733:114ff; 522:172ff; 703:586ff; 598:217ff; 334:265ff; Kraeling, p. 52].

The Jewish family was monogamous, and the husband did not have the right to take a second wife. For instance, upon the drawing up of a marriage contract between the Jewish woman Mibtahyah and the Egyptian Ashor, it was stipulated that if he had another wife besides Mibtahyah and other children besides the children by her, then he must pay her 20 *karsha* (200 *shekels*) of silver and must lose all the gifts that he gave her [*AP* 15]. Sometimes the marriage contracts also stipulate that the wife cannot have a second husband [Kraeling, no. 7]. The fiancé had to pay the father of the bride a bride-price (usually from five to ten *shekels* of silver). The bride's dowry usually consisted of several dozens of *shekels* of silver, one woolen and several linen dresses, a mirror, dishware and the like. In the case of the death of one of the spouses, the other one inherited it.

In striking contrast to Bibilical law, a woman living among the Jewish colonists enjoyed extensive rights, and her legal status did not essentially differ from that of the male regardless of whether or not she was married. She could own personal property (movable or immovable) and could alienate it. In contrast to all ancient Near Eastern laws (except the Egyptian) and the Talmudic norms, a woman had the right to divorce, losing only the gifts from the husband. Furthermore, in such a case she also had to make a divorce payment (roughly seven *shekels* of silver). But if a wife left her husband without a divorce, half of her property was transferred to the husband. If the initiative for the divorce belonged to the husband, he had to return the dowry to his wife and make a divorce payment. The previously mentioned Mibtahyah married three times, and her marriage contracts and divorce documents have been preserved in the Elephantine archives.

A husband could divorce his wife if she had committed adultery, but she was not subject to additional punishment, unlike Biblical and most ancient laws where the faithlessness of the wife was considered a criminal offense and punished severely. But such punishments were alien to Egyptian law, and Yaron holds that the Jewish women in Elephantine were indebted for their favored legal status to the influence of Egyptian laws on the marriage law of the colonists (733:53ff; *cf.* also 688:166ff). Nevertheless, a woman did not act as a witness in the conclusion of different business transactions (such a status was also then characteristic of Egyptian and Babylonian law). However, in Achaemenid times in Egypt, Babylonia and Elam, a man could not pawn his wife for security. In Egypt a woman had the right to divorce, unlike in Babylonia, Judah and other countries, where only the man had such a right [703:586ff; 197:93ff; 637:72; 173:158]. In contrast to Egyptian law, the authority of the father over children among the colonists was not so great and, apparently, he could not pawn them as security for debts.

The following document is characteristic with respect to the law governing debts. In 402 B.C. a certain Jew took out a rather small loan in spelt from another Jew. If the loan was not paid off by the stipulated deadline, during the twenty days following this deadline, the debtor was obliged to pay "without trial" one *karsha* (ten *shekels*) of refined silver; if, meanwhile, the debtor were to die, his children would have to liquidate the loan. Otherwise the creditor could take possession of anything from the house of the debtor that was necessary to make restitution for the loan: slaves, "copper and iron vessels," clothing, grain, and even the children of the debtor [Kraeling, no. 11].

Property arguments between the Jewish colonists of Elephantine, who constituted a single cultic community, were usually decided by the special "court of the Jews," after an oath had been taken. For example, a certain Mahseiah was accused of stealing fish but denied his guilt. However, when they asked him to take an oath he refused, and obviously being guilty, agreed to pay for the fish [*AP* 45].

Furthermore, the customary royal courts – which, in particular, examined property suits between colonists – also functioned in Elephantine. Such courts consisted of at least two royal judges and the chief of the garrison, who performed the duties of chairman. The court accepted the sworn statements of the parties regardless of what religion they adhered to. For instance, a papyrus drawn up in 464 B.C. says the following:

> Dargamana, the son of Harshina, a man from Choresm from the detachment of Artabannu in the fortress in Elephantine, said to Mahseiah ... a Jew from the detachment of Varyazata in the fortress in Elephantine: "You have sworn to me by Yahu (*i.e.* Yahweh) in the Elephantine fortress ... concerning a parcel of my land about which I had previously made complaints against you before Damidata and his colleagues, the judges, and they imposed an oath on you to me, to swear by Yahu (Yahweh) ... that this is not a parcel of Dargamana ... You have sworn to me by Yahu and have satisfied my heart concerning this plot. I shall not instigate a suit against you – neither I nor my son or daughter will do this ..." [*AP* 6].

But the royal judges did not avoid the actual investigation of a case when necessary. This can be seen from a papyrus describing how in 410 B.C. the priests of the temple of the Egyptian god Khnum filled up a well which the troops of the Elephantine garrison used. The latter sent a complaint to the satrap, asserting that "if inquiries were made by the judges, investigators, and informers ... it would be made known to our lord (*i.e.* to the satrap of Egypt, Arshama) in accordance with what we say" [*AP* 27].

The chief of the garrison (*frataraka*) likewise had judicial authority over the troops of the Elephantine garrison. In particular, a declaration concerning the manumission of a female slave was made in his presence [173:156–7; 174:320; 701:75ff].

Flavius Josephus (*Jud. Ant.* XI, 6, 12) writes that the Persian kings allowed the Jews to live according to their own laws, and this report is supported by other sources as well. In Judah internal affairs were settled by the civilian–temple community headed by a council of elders. The ten commandments of Biblical law are too well-known to dwell on here. The status of a woman is characterized by the well-known order "that the wife should fear her husband." Nevertheless, a woman enjoyed certain rights: after divorce she could marry for a second time and could even have her personal seal [123:128]. According to Biblical law, the power of a creditor was extended not only to the debtor and his property, but also to the children, whom it was possible to take as security for the payment of a debt [276:43ff].

Ezra, who was sent by the Persian king to Judah as a governor, appointed judges in the country and also completed work on the codification of the "laws of Moses" (the Torah or Pentateuch); he declared them to be mandatory for all members of the Jewish community and began to punish violators of them severely. In conjunction with this, Ezra asserted that the laws introduced by him were given by the god Yahweh to Moses, but, subsequently, the Jews began to violate them. The Pentateuch contains various instructions of a ritual and legal nature, which emerged several generations prior to Ezra. The latter set for himself the goal of transforming the observation of these instructions into the faith and law of the Jewish people. But, as a result of the opposition of the majority of the popular masses, Ezra's mission ended in failure. However, on 30 October 445 B.C. his successor Nehemiah triumphantly declared that the laws collected and codified by Ezra were the basic law of Judah [507:70]. As a result of this, Jerusalem was converted into a theocratic state headed by the high priest, and the fundamental principles of self-administration of the Jewish community were laid down within the framework of the supreme authority of the Persian king. There had now emerged, essentially, a new community, which was characterized by a spirit of isolation. Gradually the laws of the Pentateuch also spread to the Jews of the diaspora under the protection and with the help of the Persian kings [Ezra 7:25–6; *cf.* 611:5ff; 507:97ff].

The Phoenician cities preserved their own ancient laws, according to which judicial authority belonged to local kings and to the popular assembly. The laws of the remaining countries of the Achaemenid state are known only through extremely fragmentary data.

D AGRARIAN RELATIONS

Agriculture was the basic sector of production in the majority of countries of the ancient East.

During the Achaemenid period significant changes occurred in the system of land relations in the Near East. All the land that was under cultivation was accurately measured, and the best portion of it belonged to the king, the temples, business houses, the military elite, and the civil servants of the royal and temple administration. Among the grain crops in Babylonia, Egypt, Elam and Persia the most frequently sowed was barley, while spelt and wheat were more rarely sowed. The latter was the basic food in Palestine, where they also grew peas, lentils and mustard. In Babylonia, they sowed, besides barley, millet, sesame, peas, mustard, garlic and onions, while among vegetables and fruits they raised cucumbers, apples, pomegranates and apricots. In Babylonia and Elam, dates, from which they made bread, wine, vinegar and honey were the basic food, along with barley. The by-products of the date palms (branches, fibers, etc.) were utilized as fodder for livestock, and also for the plaiting of doors and fences and the manufacture of cord, sacks, mats and even clothing. The average yield of dates from one hectare amounted to nearly 7,000 liters. The density of the sowing with barley in Babylonia was equivalent to roughly 112.5 liters or 67.5 kg per hectare, which provided a yield on the average of nearly 1,575 liters per hectare. When plowing in Babylonia, they not infrequently utilized the double harness; *i.e.* they harnessed four oxen to one plow. There were many fruit orchards in Syria, Lydia and Cicilia. Among the fruits, pears, pistachios and the like were cultivated in Persia.

The assertion by Herodotus that figs will not grow in Persia and that the Babylonians did not know grapes is incorrect, since these crops are mentioned in the texts from Iran and Babylonia as being cultivated there. Wine-making (it should be mentioned that in antiquity Persia was

renowned for its wines from around Shiraz)[14] was a developed art in Syria, Cicilia, Persia, Armenia, and Sogdiana, while in Babylonia and Elam they mainly satisfied themselves with beer from barley and dates. They brewed beer from barley in Egypt, and there is mention of an Egyptian brewer in the documents from Persepolis. Western peoples studied under the Iranians to learn to raise lemon trees, and hence the Greeks called lemons Median or Persian apples. Bee keeping was also known in Iran and some other countries of the Near East.

Egypt, Babylonia, Phrygia and Iran were rich in livestock. Herodotus (I, 133) wrote that when the Persians were celebrating a birthday, which was their greatest holiday, they served the table with whole roasted bulls, horses and camels. Meat was a luxury in most countries with the exception of Persia, where it constituted part of the daily food ration. Even in rich Babylonia, meat was accessible only to the wealthy, while the rest ate it only five to six times a year (mainly on temple holidays). Dairy food likewise occupied an insignificant place in the overall food ration. Animal fats are mentioned very rarely in the texts, and in Babylonia the inhabitants had to content themselves with sesame oil, while in Palestine they used olive oil. But in Egypt olive oil was an import and was considered a luxury, while, on the other hand, animal fats were relatively cheap.

The best breeds of horses were reared in Media, Persia and Armenia, and their basic fodder was alfalfa. This grass began to be sowed in Babylonia and its Iranian name *aspasta* ("horse food") was adopted by Akkadian, and from the time of the Graeco-Persian wars it also became widely utilized in Greece, where they called it Median grass [498, 1:210; Strabo XI, 13, 7].

With regard to domestic poultry, only ducks and geese were commonly known in Babylonia. The Persepolis Fortification Tablets mention twelve species of poultry, including hens, geese and ducks. Fish, which were abundant in the rivers, lakes and swamps, were an important food product in Egypt and Babylonia. As early as ancient times, the Babylonians knew many ways to preserve fish. In particular they salted, dried and smoked it, preserved it in vegetable sauce, and so forth [597:259ff]. According to Herodotus (II, 77), the Egyptians used fish as food, in dried, salted, fried or boiled form.

In antiquity the city dominated the countryside, but the urban population itself was chiefly engaged in agriculture. Rural areas adjoined the city extending in all directions for up to 5 or 6 km, and their land was tilled by the people who lived within the city walls. Thus, the cities were agricultural, as well as handicraft, centers [18:150ff; 176:186–7].

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[14] As is clear from the Persepolis Fortification texts, Shiraz already existed before the arrival of the Persians in Iran; its name itself is Elamite (in the texts it is usually written *Tirazzish*, but the variant *Shirazzish* is also encountered).

According to Curtius Rufus [V, 1, 27), Babylon encompassed 365 stadia; domestic structures extended over only 80 stadia, while the remaining area was sown or covered by gardens. Four types of settlements existed in Babylonia: small villages (up to 3.5 hectares); large villages (3.6 to 9.5 hectares); small cities (9.6 to 22.5 hectares); and large cities (22.6 to 60 hectares). In connection with this, 32 per cent of the inhabited area was occupied by small cities in Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid times [179:347]. In Palestine during Achaemenid times, such large cities as Lachish and Gezer occupied *c.*7.2 hectares and had a population of nearly 6,500. But cities of average size (2.5 to 4 hectares) with a population of around 2,000 to 4,000, and small centers (0.4 to 1 hectare) with 400 to 1,000 people, predominated [18:158].

Little rain fell in Egypt and Babylonia, and hence artificial irrigation played a large role. A large basin was constructed in Babylonia at the city of Sippar in order to regulate and distribute the water during both the spring flooding and the dry season, and major canals extended from this reservoir [508:1106ff]. A large number of the Babylonian canals belonged to the state, while some belonged to temples and private individuals. All landowners could use such canals by paying a special fee. Large canals also existed in Central Asia [94:89; 41:121; 54:63ff]. As far as Persia itself was concerned, canals were likewise constructed in some areas where it was impossible to obtain stable harvest yields without artificial irrigation. In particular, canals were used to supply the plains surrounding Persepolis with water [627, 1:57; 451:21ff]. Most probably the water-scarce Iranian plateau was criss-crossed by an extensive network of underground canals (kharizes or qanats) as early as the Achaemenids [451:30; 170:53].

The major landowners usually rented out their lands. This applies in particular to the Babylonian temples, which owned large latifundia but lacked sufficient slaves for their cultivation. Usually the land was leased out in large plots to major tenants, who, in turn, sublet it in small lots [258:46]. The rental payment was of two types: either its amount was established beforehand by the drawing up of a contract, depending upon the quality of the land and being paid in kind or in money; or the owner received one-third of the harvest, while the tenant received two-thirds. The contract was usually set for one year. For instance, the administration of the temple of Ebabbarra in Sippar leased a field to a certain private individual for a period of ten years for 70 *kur* (12,600 liters) of dates as annual rent [*Camb* 42]. According to an Aramaic papyrus from the time of Darius I, the tenant of a field had to sow it with his own grain, but turn over half of the harvest to the lease-giver [Bauer-Meissner, p. 418]. The Demotic contracts for the rent of land were drawn up for one year, while payment was made in an amount ranging from one-half to one-third of the harvest [101:264ff; 637:59–60ff]. In one Demotic papyrus the size of the rent is determined as three geese. On rare occasions an Egyptian tenant also received a pair of oxen from the owner of the field. In Babylonia, then, the granting of seed grain and oxen together with the land to the tenant was typical; and in addition the renting of livestock for a previously determined payment was widespread. For instance, the house of Murashu rented out an ox for hire for three years for a payment of 10 *kur* (1,800 liters) of barley a year [BE, Vol. 9, 52]. In another case, the same house rented four oxen with the necessary harness gear for three years for 150 *kur* of barley a year [BE, Vol. 9, 89].

Small landowners tilled their own plots themselves, together with members of their families; sometimes they also employed the help of slaves and hired hands, whom they usually hired for harvest time. The labor of hired hands was widely used on large estates (especially on those belonging to temples), where they worked either the year round or during the harvest. Sometimes such workers were even recruited from neighboring countries for payment and board; after gathering the harvest they returned home.

Some scholars suggest that under the Achaemenids the king was theoretically regarded as legal owner of all land [614:20; 97:156; 530:161; 176:177; 183:187; 91:135–6; *cf.* 195:196; 265:272, note 1]. However, the sources do not contain indisputable data to support such a view, and thence it is possible that during the Achaemenid period there did not yet exist a theory of supreme property of the land. In any case, land was sold, mortgaged, bestowed as a gift, etc. freely and without the permission of the royal administration. But it is possible that the picture was somewhat different in Egypt from what it was in Babylonia and the majority of other countries. In the opinion of Malinine, private property of land existed in Egypt only in the form of a concession of royal rights under certain conditions [484:92]. However, during Achaemenid times in Egypt plots of land also existed which were alienated by private individuals without the permission of the king. A contract on the sale of a field which was drawn up in Thebes in 511 B.C. has been preserved [483:85ff]. According to another Demotic papyrus from the time of Darius I, several plots of land were sold and their owners swore that these fields really belonged to them [637:56; *cf.* 341:82; 599:232, note 1].

As new lands were seized, the Persian administration selected a portion of land – apparently the most fertile portion – from among the conquered population. Eilers is inclined to suggest that a total redistribution of land occurred after the capture of Babylonia by the Persians, as a result of which the entire land or a large part of it became royal, *i.e.* state, property [260, col. 95]. However, in all likelihood the Achaemenid administration was not free to dispose of the land of the conquered peoples as it wished, but selected as its property the lands that had belonged to the former rulers and the nobility who were close to them when these rulers would not subjugate themselves voluntarily to the Persians. The land taken from the conquered peoples was distributed by the Achaemenids as large estates in sovereign and hereditary ownership to members of the royal family, to friends and table companions of the king, and the like. These land holdings were exempt from payment of state taxes, but they were required to provide a certain number of troops and arms during time of war (*cf.* Xen., *Cyrop.*, VIII, 8, 20).

The sources have preserved information about many major land holdings, palaces, parks with wild beasts, gardens, meadows and large estates, as well as about houses, storehouses and other types of real estate that belonged to the Persian nobility in Egypt, Syria, Phoenicia, Babylonia, Asia Minor and other countries [195:82ff; 218:147ff]. For example, gardens and parks that belonged to Tissaphernes, the satrap of Asia Minor (Diod. XIV, 80, 2), were situated in Sardis and Caria. According to Plutarch (*Alc.* 24), the gardens of Tissaphernes teemed with salubrious waters, lawns, shelters for rest and sites for entertainment, in a manner befitting royal tastes. A report by Xenophon (*Anab.* VII, 8, 12–16) about the household of the Persian Asidates in Mysia provides an extremely interesting description of such holdings. When 300 Greek warriors attacked his castle, which was surrounded by walls up to eight bricks thick and with numerous loop-holes, the slaves of Asidates fled from the area surrounding the castle. The king's troops, which had approached to help those under attack, forced the Greeks to retreat hastily. However, during their retreat, among other booty the Greeks took away with them nearly 200 slaves. These slaves, obviously, constituted only a part of the total number of slaves of Asidates, since most of them had scattered when the Greeks arrived. They had apparently worked for Asidates's household, in the fields, meadows and gardens situated around his castle.

Judging by Akkadian and Egyptian legal documents, the Persians gradually began to settle in the two richest countries of the state, namely Babylonia and Egypt, and became major landowners and slave-holders. In particular, the fields around Nippur in Babylonia were divided among the Persian nobles. The situation was more or less similar in other places in Mesopotamia (Babylon, Opis, etc.).

A vivid description of the households of this type is given by the letters of the Egyptian satrap Arshama and of other Persian nobles to their managers. These letters are, for the most part, instructions concerning the management of estates, the collection of taxes and the treatment of slaves. Arshama had major land holdings not only in Lower and Upper Egypt, but also in six different countries on the road from Susa to Egypt [*AD* 1, 6, 12]. For instance, Arshama orders the managers of his estates in La‘r, Arzuhin, Arbela and other locations to make daily deliveries of mutton, flour, wine, and hay for the horses to a group of workers headed by Nehtihur, the manager of his estates in Lower Egypt, who had been sent from Elam to Egypt. However, Arshama warns that, if these workers keep themselves for more than one day at one location, they must be deprived of their rations [AD 6]. He also owned a field in the environs of Nippur, which bordered on a field that belonged to the king [*TCL*, Vol. 13, 203]. In another Babylonian document, Arshama's field is mentioned in connection with the king's field (*cf.* below).

Furthermore, Arshama owned large herds of small livestock in Nippur and rented them out for hire. Thus, for instance, over the course of five days in 413 B.C. he hired out through his manager 2,381 head of small livestock to various shepherds, while in one day alone in 403 B.C. he let out 1,333 head of livestock [UM 144, 147, 148]. The livestock was let out on exigent terms. The herdsman assumed the obligation to give the products of the livestock and its increase back to the contractor in set amounts, while the remaining portion represented the payment to the herdsman for pasturage and care. In practice he had to give back annually to the owner of the livestock two-thirds of the increase for each hundred head of sheep, one-and-a-half *mina* (around 750 grams) of wool from one ram or sheep, five-sixths of a *mina* (around 417 grams) of wool from each nanny-goat and kid, and one cheese from each pregnant sheep. In addition, he was obliged to give back to the contractor the hides of all the head of livestock that had perished and also to make compensation for one-tenth of the dead livestock.

The noble Persians Warohi, Warfish and others also had major land holdings in Egypt [*AD* 10, 11, 12]. Egyptians were the managers on these estates, while *garda* (see below, p. 168), who were recruited from among the prisoners captured during the suppression of the uprising in Egypt and also from among people forcibly taken away from other countries and turned into slaves, worked there. The Persians felt so confident of themselves in Babylonia that in 429 B.C. in Nippur a certain Bagavir, the son of Mitradatu, rented out to the house of Murashu his own cultivated grain field and a field which he had inherited after the death of his uncle (the brother of his father), Rushundat, for a period of 60 years. Both fields were situated near Nippur, along the banks of two canals alongside the field of another Persian by the name of Rushunpati. Bagavir also rented out "residential houses in the town of Galia." The tenant had already paid the entire rent at the time of the drawing up of the contract, which was equal to 1,200 *kur* of dates (nearly 2,160 hectoliters). The house of Murashu also assumed the obligation of converting the fields that it had rented into orchards. If, before 60 years had elapsed, Bagavir took away his land from the lease-holder, then he must pay him one talent of silver [BE, Vol. 9, 48]. According to another document, the Iranian Hattudu, the son of Atebaga, rented a field to a certain Babylonian for 20 years [Mich 46]. Such a prolonged rental period can be explained by the fact that the tenant had to have the opportunity to amortize the capital invested in the land in order to set up an orchard there.

Ctesias mentions "the cities of Parysatis" (the wife of Darius II) in Babylonia [Gilmore, fr. 89]. Xenophon (*Anab.* II, 4, 27) likewise tells about the "villages of Parysatis" in Babylonia. Furthermore, he writes in another place in his work *Anabasis* (I, 4, 9) that villages which were dedicated to Parysatis "as (her) girdle" were located in Syria at the Halys river. These villages probably had to bear the expense for the maintenance of the wardrobe of the queen and her court. It appears that free subjects, who were obliged to pay taxes to the queen, lived in these villages. This hypothesis can be corroborated also by a report by Herodotus (II, 98; see also I, 192) to the effect that the city of Anthylla in Egypt supplied shoes to the Persian queen.

The villages of Parysatis, which were situated six days' passage from the city of Opis, differed from these holdings in terms of their status (*cf.* 237, 2:414; 92:104). These villages were the sovereign private property of the queen. Xenophon writes that the Persian general Tissaphernes offered them for pillage to the Greeks who had taken part in the rebellion of Cyrus the Younger, having forbidden them only to carry slaves away from there. The possibility cannot be ruled out that some of these estates were cultivated by slaves. Parysatis received bread, livestock, wine and the like from these holdings. The Babylonian documents mention the renting of Parysatis's estates (situated near Nippur) to the house of Murashu [UM 50, 60, 75, etc.]. For instance, one document [Kr 158] drawn up in 420 B.C. in Nippur in the presence of "Ishtubazana, the judge (of the district) of the Sin canal and of Nabu-mit-uballit, the judge of the estate of Parysatis," sets the payment by the house of Murashu for the rent to Parysatis:

> 317 *kur*, 1 *pan*, 3 *sut* (around 57,150 liters) of barley and 5 *kur*, 2 *pan*, 3 *sut* (990 liters) of wheat. This is the rent from the portion of the grain fields belonging to Parysatis and from the fief of the bow belonging to Ea-bullitsu, Parysatis's manager, for the fourth year of the King Darius (II).

The Persian princes, in particular Achaemenes and his son Phradates, were likewise major landowners in Babylonia. One document [BE, Vol. 10, 85] records that

> 30 *kur* of barley, 1 vat of sweet beer, 2 rams, and 1 *pan*, 4 *sut* of flour made up the complete rent for the fourth year of the king Darius from the grain fields sown in straw, [and specifically from] the portion of the prince Achaemenes in the town of Hambanai [from fields] which were in the hands (*i.e.* under the management) of Mannu-iqabu, Achaemenes's manager, and at the disposal (*i.e.*, in lease) of Rimut-Ninurta, the descendant of Murashu.

According to another document [UM 201],

> One *mina* of silver is the price of dates for the fourth year of king Darius from the field belonging to Phradates, the son of Achaemenes, and being at the disposal of Rimut-Ninurta, the descendant of Murashu. This silver . . . was received by Ṣiha and Ninurta-etir, slaves of Phradates, upon the instructions of Phradates, from the hands of Rimut-Ninurta . . .

The third document [UM 203] also sets the payment

> of one *mina* of silver as the full rent from the fields for the fifth year of king Darius, (*i.e.*) from the grain fields with trees and harvest yields situated in the environs of all of Nippur and belonging to Phradates, the son of the prince Achaemenes and being at the disposal of Rimut-Ninurta, the descendant of Murashu [for more detail, see 223].

As can be seen from these texts, the fields of the prince Achaemenes were situated in the vicinity of Hambanai, near Nippur. The fields of the Achaemenid prince Dundana were located in the same region and were rented out to the house of Murashu. The annual rent from them consisted of payment of 200 *kur* of barley, a vat of beer, 1 *pan* and 4 *sut* of flour, and one ram [BE, Vol. 10, no. 32]. The fields of the royal soldiers (particularly of the Cimmerians, *i.e.* the Scythians) and of various groups of the population that were dependent on the king [BE, Vol. 10, 81, 90, 97, 122; Kr no. 145, etc.] were also located in the vicinity of Hambanai. It is clear that the land in the entire district had been confiscated by the state, with part being given over to the Persian nobility and part being distributed among the people who had to bear royal duties and pay taxes.

The prince Manushtanu received 4,000 *kur* (720,000 liters) of barley as an annual rent from fields near Nippur that were leased to the house of Murashu (Stolper, CBS 5195). Another prince (no name cited) received through his manager 294 *kur* (around 52,920 liters) of barley as a rent for the year [BE, Vol. 10, 59]. According to a document drawn up in Babylon in 423 B.C. [UM 5], "the Persian Uheiagam, the son of the Persian Farnak," received rent from fields in the vicinity of Kugurdi leased out to the house of Murashu. The manager of the treasury, a Persian named Bagasaru, received 170 *kur* of grain from one of his own fields near Babylon [*Dar* 296]. Artamarga, Bagavir, Rushundat, Artabara, Mitradata and other noble Persians became land magnates in Babylonia. Sometimes Babylonian settlements bore Persian names according to the names of their owners: "the estates of Bagadatu, Ushtanu," etc. [BE, Vol. 9, 65 and 101; UM 105]. These settlements were situated near Nippur, Babylon and other cities [*cf.* 195:82ff; 264:43]. Even the wet-nurses of the royal children and the palace ladies (for instance, the Persian women Artiya and Artagata) owned fields and orchards in Babylonia, which were in the hands of their managers and leased out by them [*Dar* 476; Xerx 2; BE, Vol. 9, 28, etc.]. One of the palace ladies received 100 *kur* of barley, 400 *kur* of dates, 10 rams, 15 sheep, etc. as an annual payment [BE, Vol. 9, 50]. One of the bed chambermen of the king received a plot of land in Babylon as a "gift from the king" [264:107ff].

A Persian by the name of Partammu bought himself a house in the center of Babylon [*Dar* 379 and 410]. The Persians Arbatema and Tirakam (the son of Bagapanu), rented warehouses situated respectively in Borsippa and Nippur [*NRV* 138; BE, Vol. 9, 54]. The Persian Arbamihri, the son of Partasemu, rented a house in Borsippa, while the satrap Gubaru rented one in Babylon [Bodl A 124; *Mich* 14].

Vast land holdings (sometimes entire provinces) with the right of hereditary transfer were also received by the so-called benefactors of the king, who had rendered him important services. Their names were entered into special lists (Herod. VIII, 85 and 90; Joseph., *Ant. Jud.* XI, 6, 4). The Greek authors called such people *evergetai* ("benefactors") or *orosangai* (in Schaeder's opinion this is a Greek transcription of the old Persian **varusanka*, meaning "widely renowned") [628:131]. In certain instances, entire cities were declared royal "benefactors". For instance, Xerxes proclaimed the people of Thebes to be the benefactors of the Persian kings for their help against the remaining Greeks, while the inhabitants of Acanthos were honored with the title of "royal hosts" for their zealous work during the construction of a canal near this city. The residents of the city of Abdera received from Xerxes the title of "friends" for the cordial reception which they gave to his troops (Herod. VII, 116; VIII, 120; Diod. XVII, 14, 2). Arrian (III, 27, 4) and Diodorus (XVII, 81, 1) write that the tribe of the Ariaspai on the southern border of Drangiana, which voluntarily supplied the troops of Cyrus II with foodstuffs, was proclaimed a royal benefactor and released from paying taxes.

The benefactors were rewarded with honorary clothing, horses, golden ornaments, etc. (Xen., *Anab.* I, 2, 27). We can see from one of the Persepolis documents [*PTT* 4] how generously the king bestowed gifts on people loyal to him. Upon the personal instruction of Darius I, thirteen individuals (almost all Iraniáns, judging by the names) received 530 *karsha* of silver for the capture of a certain criminal.

The royal benefactors even had the right of trial over people who lived in the regions that belonged to them. Entire regions were in the hands of the descendants of Otanes in Cappadocia, of Hydarnes in Armenia, of Tissaphernes in Phrygia, etc. Also among the royal benefactors were foreigners who received entire villages and cities as gifts. For instance, Themistocles obtained ownership of the cities of Magnesia, Lampsacus, Myus, Percote and Old Skepsis from the Persian king; these cities had to supply him respectively with bread, wine, meat, fish, seasonings, and also with a bed and clothing.[15] Magnesia on the Maeander, which had been given to Themistocles, was the wealthiest city in Asia Minor in terms of bread, and according to Nepos (*Them.*, X, 3), the annual income from there amounted to 500 talents. Themistocles was appointed the ruler of Magnesia under the supreme authority of the Persian king.

The Spartan ruler Demaratos, having fled to Persia and taken part in the campaign against Greece, received hereditary ownership of the cities of Teuthrania and Halisarna in Mysia from Xerxes as a "royal gift" (Herod. VI, 70; Xen., *Hell.* III, 1, 6). The brothers Gongylos and Gorgion, having been expelled from their homeland in Eretria because of their relations with the Persians were given four cities in the Troad "as a gift from the king," cities which their descendants subsequently managed (Xen., *Anab.* VII, 8, 8). The tyrant of Miletus, Histiaeus, who had performed a great service to Darius I, was granted the region of Myrkinos in Thrace on the River Strymon (Herod. V, 11). The Persian satrap Pharnabazos granted a settlement in Phrygia to the Athenian traitor Alcibiades from which he received an income of 50 talents a year (Xen., *Hell.* III, 1, 6; Nepos. *Alcib.* IX, 3). According to Athenaeus (*Deipnosoph.* I, 54), even Cyrus II granted seven cities in Asia Minor to Pitharchos of Cyzicus. Xerxes wrote to the Spartan general Pausanias, who had secretly gone over to the side of the Persians, that he would be granted great favors "in the house of the Persian king" (Thuc., I, 129, 3) for his good deeds. The burial inscription of Eshmun'azar, ruler of Sidon, says that the "Lord of the kings" (*i.e.* the Persian king) had given him the superb grain fields of Dor and Jaffa in the plain of Sharon for his "great deeds," having decided to annex them permanently to the territory of Sidon. Galling suggests that the term "great deeds" referred to the participation of ships from Sidon in the campaign by Xerxes against Greece.[16]

It is difficult to say with complete certainty whether such territories were relieved of paying royal taxes, or whether the inhabitants of these cities and villages supported their landowners besides paying tribute to the king (and in addition to advancing a set number of warriors with arms). According to Herodotus (I, 192), Tritantaechmes, the satrap of Babylonia, annually received an *artaba* of silver from the Babylonians.[17] From this one can conclude that the previously mentioned sum was contributed by the people apart from the royal tribute, for which, as is well known, all Babylonia was assessed. Testimony to this can also be found in the report in the Book of Nehemiah (5:15), which mentions that the governors of Judah took bread, wine and silver from the people. But according to Herodotus, this same satrap Tritantaechmes had 16,800 horses, not counting cavalry horses, and so many dogs of the Indian breed that four large villages on the plain were freed from other taxes so that they might deliver provisions for these dogs (unquestionably, these figures have been fantastically exaggerated) [*cf.* 581:87–8]. If one has in mind here under "other taxes" tribute to the king, then it would be possible to assume that the satrap had the right to gather taxes for his own benefit from certain villages of Babylonia. According to a letter composed by one of the late Greek rhetoricians on the basis of historical facts, Themistocles relieved the city of Lampsacus, which had suffered under heavy taxes, from tribute [Hercher, p. 761, No. 20]. It goes without saying that Themistocles could relieve this city only of a tribute which was at his personal disposal, not from state taxes. Inasmuch as it seems to follow from this letter that Lampsacus was, in general, relieved of taxes, then it is possible to assume that prior to this it paid tribute only to Themistocles, not to the Persian king. Plutarch (*Phocion* 18) tells us that Alexander the Great offered Phocion several cities – not for total ownership, but only for their income. Briant believes that, in so far as Alexander the Great retained Achaemenid institutions, the situation of the cities and villages granted by the Persian kings to the Greeks was analogous [177:47 and 81].

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[15] Athen., *Deipnosoph.* XII, 533 D; Diod., XI, 57, 7; Thuc., I, 138, 5; Plut., *Them.* 29; Moral. 328 E–F; Nepos, *Them.* X, 2–3; Strabo XIV, 1, 10.

[16] However, instead of the term "great deeds," Lipínski translates this phrase as "for the substantial gift which I had made," assuming that new territories had been acquired for a heavy tribute paid to the Persian king [471:58ff; the relevant literature is also cited there].

[17] The *artaba* was equivalent to 30 liters.

It would seem to us that the Persepolis documents shed light on the status of villages and cities given as a gift. In contrast to the holdings that were private property, the free people who lived in them were obliged (besides the usual taxes to the king?) to bear the expenditures for the support of this or that highly-placed individual or to supply him with clothing according to established norms over a period of a fixed number of days in the year, this period being determined according to the size of the city or village. A number of documents set the salary of Pharnaces, the manager of the royal household from 508 to 486 B.C. It is important to note, as an indication of the character of the economic system, that he received his salary not in money, but in kind.[18] He received daily two sheep, 18 *bar* of flour and 9 *marrish*[19] of beer or wine [*PF* 666–8 etc.], *i.e.* 120 to 180 times more flour than the employees of the royal household and the messengers, and 90 times more beer or wine than the messengers. Another highly-placed civil servant, Zishshavish, received 1.5 sheep, 3 *marrish* of wine and 6 *bar* of flour a day [*PF* 674, 678, 670, etc.]. Gobryas (apparently, the same individual who was mentioned in the Behistun Inscription as one of the accomplices of Darius in the murder of Gaumata) received 7 *marrish* of beer a day [*PF*, 688].[20] Naturally, such a high salary was received by only a few people, whereas the wages of civil servants of the lower ranks were one to three sheep a month, 3 *ka* (3 liters) of flour a day, and 50 *marrish* (500 liters) of wine or beer a month [*PF* 824, 825, etc.]. The salary of ordinary civil servants and the rations of workers of the state household were usually issued in barley and beer, less frequently in dates, wine, meat and fruits.

The "relatives of the king" and "friends of the king" were close in terms of their position to the royal *euergetai*. These were the titles which favored those people who had the right to partake of royal meals. For instance, Tiribazos, the ruler of Western Armenia, was considered a friend of the king, and no one else had the right in his presence to assist the king in mounting his horse (Xen., *Anab.* IV, 4, 4).

The owners of the large estates had at their disposal their own military detachments, judicial–administrative management, police civil servants, and an entire staff of managers, chiefs of the storehouses and bookkeepers [BE, Vol. 9, 28, 32, 50, 74, etc.: Xen., *Anab.* VII, 8, 17]. Some of them even had at their disposal sculptors and other craftsmen in the arts. Thus, for instance, one of the slave–sculptors of the Egyptian satrap Arshama was dispatched from Egypt to Susa in order to make a statue of a horseman mounted on a horse [*AD* 9]. One of the slaves of prince Cambyses was an engraver of seals (*Cyr* 323).

Major landowners usually lived in their own *paradises* or in large cities (Babylon, Susa, etc.) far from rural localities, on incomes from their land holdings, which were under the jurisdiction of their managers [*cf. AD* 1, 2, 11]. For instance, in one letter the satrap Arshama writes to his manager Nehtihur that the Persian noble Warohi had complained to him, saying the following: "(Concerning) the estates in Egypt, which were granted to me by my sovereign – from there they are delivering nothing to me." Warohi asked Arshama to write to Nehtihur and to the accountants subordinate to him so that they might instruct Hatu-basti, Warohi's manager, as to the necessity for "collecting without fail the incomes from these estates and delivering (them) to me together with the incomes which Nehtihur is bringing along" to Arshama. The latter orders: "Tell Hatu-basti, Warohi's manager, to gather the incomes from Warohi's estates fully and with interest and to bring them (and come himself) together with the treasure which I ordered to be delivered to Babylon" [*AD* 10]. Obviously, Arshama and Warohi were themselves in Babylon at this time. A letter from Warohi to Nehtihur has also been preserved in which he says: "I have complained here to Arshama concerning my manager Hatu-basti, who is not delivering any income whatsoever to me . . . Let him be active and instruct my manager to bring me the incomes

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[18] In the above mentioned document *PTT* 4, which records the issuance in silver for the capture of a criminal, Pharnaces appears to have received 20 *karsha* (200 *shekels*) of silver.

[19] *Bar* – a unit of dry measure, about 10 liters; *marrish* – a unit of liquid measure, about 10 liters.

[20] The seal of Gobryas with a hunting scene also is attached to this document.

[from my domains] in Babylon ... Hatu-basti or his brother or his son must come to me in Babylon with the incomes" [*AD* 11]. It can be seen from other letters of Arshama that his manager Nehtihur traveled to the east several times (probably to Susa and Babylon) in order to deliver the incomes from his domains personally to the satrap [*AD* 10, 12]. During one such trip by Psamshek, another manager of the estates of Arshama in Egypt, eight of his slaves who were accompanying him fled, having seized all the property of their master [*AD* 3].

Local rulers who were left in power by the Persians (for instance, in Cilicia, the Phoenician cities, etc.) were naturally also major landowners.

Finally, part of the land (probably the most fertile part) was under the actual ownership of the king. In comparison with the preceding period under the Achaemenids, the scale of royal land holdings sharply increased [221:306–7].

These lands were usually leased out, as also was the case with the fields of members of the royal family. Thus, for instance, according to a contract drawn up in 420 B.C. near Nippur, a representative of the house of Murashu appealed to the manager of those fields of the king, which were under cultivation and situated along the banks of several canals, with a request to rent one field for three years. The tenant was obliged to deliver annually 220 *kur* (nearly 39,600 liters) of barley, 20 *kur* of wheat, 10 *kur* of spelt, one bull and 10 rams as rent. According to this same text, the water of the nearby canals was also the "property of the king" and the field was rented with irrigation rights from the royal canals. The contract itself was drawn up in the presence of a certain Bel-bullitsu, a judicial civil servant (*iprasakku*, from the Old Persian **frasaka*), while an Iranian, "Mitradata, officer of Dadarshu, the son of Bagazushtu," was mentioned among the witnesses [Kr 147].

Other documents concerning the renting of royal fields have also been preserved in that same archive of Murashu, as well as in the archives from Ur, Sippar, Babylon, etc. According to one of them, the house of Murashu paid 200 *kur* (36,000 liters) of barley in 435 B.C. as rent for one field, which was "property of the king" [BE, Vol. 9, 32a].[21] According to the testimony of a document from the times of Darius I from Dilbat, claims of the royal administration were raised against the field of a certain person, maintaining that this field was the property of the king. But the owner of the field made a declaration before several individuals (including "Sheshsheti, a Persian, the son of Kamakka") that "this field does not belong to the king" [*NRV* 702].

The *uzbarru* lands (an Iranian word meaning literally "subject to taxation") also belonged to the category of royal lands. These lands,

which were usually situated along the banks of royal canals, were sown with grain crops and rented [BE, Vol. 9, 67; UM 124, etc.]. The documents from Nippur testify to the fact that the house of Murashu often rented out royal canals and lands as tiny plots to individuals dependent on it or to petty lease-holders [BE, Vol. 9, 65; UM 150, 158, etc.].

Apparently, there were also poultry farms in Babylonia, which belonged to the king. Thus, for instance, documents BE, Vol. 10, 128; UM 63 and others mention a certain Hananiya, who was appointed to care for the birds belonging to the king.

Furthermore, many large canals also belonged to the king [221:307]. The king's managers usually rented these canals for a high fee. In the vicinity of Nippur, the house of Murashu rented the royal canals; this house, in turn, sublet them to collectives of small landowners. For instance, in 439 B.C. seven landowners drew up a contract with three tenants of the royal canal, among whom was also the house of Murashu. According to this contract, the subtenants received the right to irrigate their fields over the course of three days (from the twelfth to the fifteenth day) each month with "water from the canal which is the property of the king." For this, they had to pay their lessors – in particular, one-third of the harvest and dates from the irrigated fields – as a "water tax" and also a certain sum of money for each unit of land. If the subtenants used the water for the irrigation of lands not stipulated by the contract, the rent would increase correspondingly. If the subtenants were to use the water above the number of days indicated in the contract, then they were obliged "without trial" to pay a fine of 5 *mina* of silver [BE, Vol. 9, 7]. Usually the payment for utilization of the water came to a quarter of the harvest of dates [BE, Vol. 9, 65; UM 158, etc.]. In one instance, the king's share for the use of the canal was equivalent to 2 *kur* 24 *ka* (around 384 liters) of sesame [BE, Vol. 9, 73].

The Persian kings also had possession of irrigation constructions along the Akes river in Central Asia, for the use of which the populace paid large sums (Herod. III, 117); mines in Carmania, where gold, silver, copper, etc. were extracted (Strabo XV, 3, 14); forests in Syria (according to the testimony of Nehemiah (2:8), these forests were preserved by specially appointed people); incomes from fish caught in Lake Moeris in Egypt; and orchards, parks, and palaces in various parts of the state [see 627, 1:90; 293:208].

In ancient times the so-called *paradises* had a widespread reputation. They are also mentioned in the Persepolis documents in the form *partetaš*. In 1958 Benveniste hypothesized that this word was a borrowing from the Old Persian **paridaida*, which the Greeks rendered with the word *paradeisos*. Hallock writes that, judging by the Fortification tablets, the *partetaš* is a place for storage of various produce, *i.e.* a warehouse, and not the

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[21] For further information, see BE, Vol. 9, 67, 90; BE, Vol. 10, 15, 34, 46; *UET*, Vol. 4, 50, 194; UM 31, 36, 59, 123, 124, 150, 172, 178; *NRV*, 380; *TCL*, Vol. 13, 203.

paradeisos, which is a park for rest.[22] In connection with this, Hallock refers to a private communication from Gershevitch, who expressed doubt concerning the identity of the respective Old Persian and Greek words, and also to a letter from Benveniste, who stated that his previous opinions concerning *partetaš* needed to be revised [*PF* p. 15; the literature is also cited there]. But Hinz noted that in several Babylonian documents of Achaemenid times one encounters the word *pardisu* (*cf.* the Aramaic *pardes*), which was undoubtedly borrowed from Old Persian. Hence, the identification of the previously mentioned Old Persian and Elamite words could be considered firmly established. Proceeding on the basis of the contexts of the Fortification tablets, Hinz thinks that the *paradises* in ancient Iran were often agricultural estates [387:26–7].

Parks with fruit and other trees and wild beasts, belonging to the Persian kings and nobles, were usually called *paradises*. (Later the word "paradise" came to signify the Christian "paradise".) Xenophon (*Oec.* IV, 13 and following) writes that the Persian king spent considerable time in the *paradise* and took care that there would be those same types of gardens, producing the best goods that the earth would grow, in all the places which he visited. There is also a description preserved of such a *paradeisos* in Sardis which belonged to the prince Cyrus the Younger. All the trees in it were situated in straight rows at an equal distance from one another. A fortified palace and park that belonged to the king were located in the city of Celaenae (Phrygia) in Asia Minor. There were many wild beasts in this park, and the Maeander flowed through its center (Xen., *Anab.* I, 2, 7–9). We know about such *paradeisoi* from the instructions of Darius I to Gadatas, the manager of his estates near Magnesia in Asia Minor (some think that he was the satrap of Ionia). Darius expresses his particular approval to Gadatas over the fact that the latter had cultivated plants on the royal lands that grew "beyond the Euphrates," *i.e.* in Syria [*SIG*, Vol. 1, No. 22]. The Greek author Posidonius writes that the Persians began to cultivate grapes themselves in the region around Chalybon in Syria, since the ruler drank wine only from these vineyards [*FGrH*, Vol. 2, p. 87, fr. 68; Strabo XV, 3, 22; Athen., *Deipnosoph.* I, 28D; *cf.* 474:94].

Royal *paradeisoi* were also situated in other countries of the state, in particular in Babylon, in Phoenicia near Sidon, and on the border between Samaria and the region of Ashdod [223a:113–17]. Plutarch in his biography of Artaxerxes II tells us about splendid royal parks laid out in totally unforested and desert localities. In the opinion of Oppenheim, such *paradises* were a special sort of combination of botanical gardens and parks [552:333].

The following facts give an idea of the dimensions of the royal household. Heracleides of Cyme and Ctesias report that 15,000 people were fed daily at the expense of the king and that 400 *talents* of silver were spent on such a dinner. Prior to setting out for dinner, it was necessary to bathe and dress in white clothing. Some of the people were placed outside the premises in view of all, while the others were put within the palace. The king sat in a separate room, from which he could see the guests through curtains, while he remained unnoticed. Sometimes he would invite a dozen nobles to come up to him; these nobles, however, had to sit on the floor, in contrast to the king, who dined sitting on a couch with golden legs. During the dinner the concubines sang and danced.[23] According to Heracleides, although the royal dinner was considered extravagant, it was shown upon careful examination to have been organized very economically. Daily they drove in 1,000 head of livestock (bulls, deer, horses) and poultry for dinner. Cheese and wine were also served. Each participant in the dinner would receive his share, the left-overs of which he took home with him for his family. But the greater portion of livestock for slaughter and other goods were carried out into the court for the bodyguards and other royal troops, who divided the meat and bread among themselves in equal portions (according to Heracleides, the king's troops received their salary not in money, but in kind). In like manner they placed all the food on the table in the houses of the Persian nobles. After finishing dinner, when the guests were sated, the scraps (usually meat and bread) were given to the slaves (Athen., *Deipnosoph.* IV, 145B–D).[24]

Polyaenus (*Strategemata* IV, 3, 32) mentions an inscription found by Alexander the Great in the palace of the Persian king, which set out the daily expenditures of the palace household of the Achaemenids (the inscription itself, most likely, did not date from the time of Cyrus II, as is asserted by this ancient author, but from a much later period). According to the inscription, 1,000 *artaba* (1 *artaba* = 30 liters) of wheat flour, 1,000 *artaba* of barley flour, 200 *artaba* of barley and 10 *artaba* of the finest barley flour were expended daily for the dinner of the royal court, along with other produce. The troops who guarded the king received daily 500 *artaba* of wheat flour, 2,000 *artaba* of barley flour, 500 *artaba* of spelt, 20,000 *artaba* of fodder barley, etc. [*cf.* 395:15; see now Bivar in *CHI*, Vol. 2, pp. 638–9.]

The picture of a huge royal household which embraced the large territory of Persia and Elam begins to take shape as we examine the Persepolis documents. In order to obtain an idea of the incomes and expenditure of the royal household in some regions of Persia and Elam during the course of one fiscal year, we can cite the following generalized data from documents dated the 22nd year of the reign of Darius I (500 B.C.). The texts usually mention from where and which locality this or that product was delivered; who took them and from whom they were taken; and for what purpose they were intended (the creation of reserves and a seed fund, the issue of rations to workers and salaries to civil servants, fodder for livestock and poultry, etc.). However, the results obtained can give only an incomplete picture, since not all the economic texts of this time have been found, some of those which do survive have been poorly preserved, and not all the documents which have been preserved have yet been published.

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[22] For example, 49,330 liters of grain, belonging to the king, were placed in the *partetaš* near Tamukkan, and 28,100 liters were placed in the one near Mushlir [*PF* 157 and 161].

[23] According to Xenophon (*Anab.* VI, 1, 10), the Persians danced, squatting and rising to the sounds of a flute and striking their shields one against another.

[24] Compare Ezra 4:14 where Ezra says that he ate "the salt of the palace" and "the bread of the king." Many people were also fed at the table of the satrap. In the Book of Nehemiah (5:17–18) it is said that 150 people daily ate at the table of Judah's governor and that they consumed for dinner one bull, six choice rams, fowl and wine.

During the course of the previously mentioned fiscal year, 67,967.5 *bar* of barley, 10,814.5 *bar* of other types of grain, 711 *bar* of flour, 180 *bar* of sesame, 1,090 *bar* of various fruits and 2,857 *marrish* of wine came into the royal warehouses. The total quantity of grain and flour received during the course of the year was equal to 79,462 *bar*, or 794, 620 liters. During the course of the same year, according to incomplete data, 19,732.2 *bar* of barley (of which 12,176.2 was for workers of the royal household, 2,672 for the royal horses and 1,376 for feasts, while 1,707 *bar* were put back into the seed fund), 1,062 *bar* of other varieties of grain, and 4,594 *bar* of flour (of which 2,111 *bar* were placed *en route* for civil servants during state business trips, 110 *bar* for camels, etc.) were consumed by the royal household. In all 26,228.2 *bar* (262,282 liters) of grain, flour and flour products were used. Of this quantity, 16,217.7 *bar* were distributed as foodstuffs for the workers of the royal household. The texts speak also of the expenditure of a large quantity of wine, beer, sesame, fruits (figs, dates, apples, etc.), cattle and small livestock, etc. The documents mention 51 localities where this or that expenditure was made during the course of the year in question.

In structural respects the royal household was unified, and various products were delivered from one place to another as demand required. For instance, after listing receipts of sesame, a document states: "All this was taken to different places" [*PF* 2082]. As one would expect, the largest number of texts assigns the delivery of grain, flour, oil, sesame, wine, beer, fruits, livestock and poultry to Persepolis. During three months, 3,000 *bar* of barley were brought into Persepolis through one civil servant alone [*PF* 6].

A number of documents record the personal decrees of Darius I. One of them is a letter from the civil servant Pharnaces to Yamakshedda, in which Darius ordered the distribution of 200 *marrish* of wine to the queen, Irtashduna [*PF* 1795].[25] Another text is a letter from Pharnaces to the chief shepherd Harrena. It says that Darius had given Pharnaces the following order: "It is necessary to give back 100 sheep from my property to the queen Irtashduna." Pharnaces continues: "As king Darius has ordered me, so I order you: you must transfer 100 sheep to queen Irtashduna, as this was ordered by the king" [*PF* 6764; *cf.* 187:216]. Moreover, upon the command of Darius in the 21st year of his reign, 12,610 *bar* of flour in Persepolis and 1,783 *bar* of flour in another place, still not precisely determined, were allocated to various individuals; 1,333 head of poultry were also distributed [*PF* 701, 702 and 2034]. In addition, the texts set out the issue of fodder for livestock belonging to the king. For instance, 1,436.5 *bar* of barley were expended in the locality of Battirakkan for the cattle of the king during the 20th year of the reign of Darius I [*PF* 1965]. According to one text, nearly 700 shepherds drove the "small livestock of the king" from Persia to Susa [*PF* 1441]. Judging by the number of shepherds, these herds apparently numbered in the tens of thousands of head [384:290]. In 501 B.C., according to a certain decree, 12,610 *bar* of flour were issued in Persepolis [*PF* 701]. As Hinz proposes, this flour was intended for the New Year's holiday, and the baked bread from it would have been sufficient for the nearly 10,000 guests of Darius over the course of ten days [384:289ff].

As can be seen from the Persepolis texts, the domestic activities of the members of the royal family were quite closely linked with the palace household, and the workers who belonged to the members of the royal family could be dispatched for the performances of state work. In a series of instances, products were released from the palace stocks for the needs of the members of the royal family and in special instances rations were issued from the estates of the latter to state servants. Besides the previously mentioned texts on the issue to queen Irtashduna of wine and sheep from the royal stores, we may note that 764 *bar* of grain and 57 *bar* of figs were distributed to the locality of Matannan for its needs [*PF* 166–8]. Noteworthy in itself is the fact that the documents (or some of them) which determined the activity on estates of members of the royal family comprise part of the archives of the palace household.

An entire series of highly-placed civil servants managed the palace household, which apparently comprised a single entity within the limits of the entire empire. Under Darius I, the manager of the royal household, Pharnaces, headed this series of officials.[26]

Under the Achaemenids, a land tenure system was widely used (at least in Babylonia) in which the king placed his own troops on the land; these soldiers tilled the plots allotted to them collectively by entire groups,

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[25] One of the wives of Darius, who is mentioned by Herodotus (III, 88; VII, 69 and 72) under the name of Artystone.

[26] Hinz observes that Pharnaces had at his disposal the royal storehouses, wine cellars and herds of livestock. In his opinion, Pharnaces was a Median courtier who was depicted on the Persepolis reliefs standing before the king with a rod in his hand, managing a palace reception (382:425–6).

served out their period of conscription as soldiers, and paid a set monetary tax plus tax in kind (flour, beer, etc.). There are reasons for proposing that an analogous system of allotments existed also in Egypt [*cf.* 599:54]. In Babylonia the allotments of the troops were called "fiefs of the bow," "of the horse," "of the chariot," etc., and their owners had to perform their military service as archers, horsemen and charioteers respectively [257:203ff; 196:55ff; 260, col. 95ff]. Among these allotments, the fiefs of the bow were the most significant, since the bow was the chief weapon of the Persian army. During campaigns, the owners of the allotments had to set forth with their own equipment. Among these troops were both Babylonians and Iranians, as well as representatives of other tribes (Aramaeans, Jews, Lydians, Indians, Sakai, etc.).

Such an organization of land tenure was called *ḫaṭru*. In document BE, Vol. 10, 126 this term was translated into the Aramaic language by a word with the meaning of "land." It is possible that *ḫaṭru* is the Old Iranian word *hathrā* borrowed by the Akkadian, a word corresponding to the ancient Indian *satrā́*, meaning "together, collectively united" [50a; *cf.* *AiWB*, col. 1762].

Besides the military colonists, there were some groups of artisans (*e.g.* tanners, carpenters, etc.), shepherds, merchants, scribes and so forth (some members of these professions were of course independent of the royal administration), as well as workers in the royal household and in households of members of the royal family (*gardu*; see below, p. 168), who were also included in the organization of the *ḫaṭru*. The documents of the archives of Murashu near Nippur mention 67 *ḫaṭru*, each of which encompassed many land allotments. The *šaknu* ("chiefs"), who managed the territory of the respective *ḫaṭru* and collected royal texts and turned them over to the treasury, were in charge of the *ḫaṭru*.

The organization of the *ḫaṭru* emerged in Achaemenid times and is known chiefly from the Nippur documents of the second half of the fifth century B.C., but judging by some texts it was characteristic of all Babylonia and began to take shape as early as the reign of Cambyses; *i.e.* in the thirties of the sixth century B.C. [*cf.*, 198; 150–1; 223b]. It is also possible that, after the uprisings of the Babylonians during the time of Xerxes, part of the land of the Babylonian temples was confiscated and distributed to the troops as allotments [542:1060].

As we see from the Babylonian texts, the size of fiefs of the bow was from 12 to 26 hectares (Joannes, p. 85). According to Herodotus (II, 168), in Egypt during the reigns of the last Saite rulers each solder had an allotment of 12 *aroura* (2.4 hectares). Such allotments were regarded as royal gifts. For instance, one document notes that the "field . . . the fief of the bow – is a gift from the king" [BE, Vol. 9, 99].

Usually scholars suppose that the references to these allotments are not

encountered earlier than the time of Darius I [444:560–1; 195:8, note 7; 97:157]. If this is so, their appearance could be considered one of the results of the administrative–financial reforms of Darius. However, such an opinion contradicts the sources.

To begin with, the term "fief of the bow" is encountered in a Babylonian document which was dated from the first year of the reign of Cambyses (529 B.C.). Judging by this document, "the assembly of the elders of the Egyptians" decided that over the course of a certain period of time several Egyptian colonists listed by name (and some of them bear Egyptian names, *e.g.* Hapimena, the son of Pishamish) had to cultivate a "grain field, the fief of the bow," situated near Babylon, and to divide its harvest among themselves. Most likely the assembly was responsible for the fulfillment of duties from such plots [*Camb* 85].

In another document, which was compiled in Sippar in the seventh year of the reign of Cambyses (523 B.C.), we encounter the term "fief of the horse" (*Bīt-aspātum*; the first word is Akkadian, while the second is Iranian). The text is concerned with an allotment of land which belonged to the king, but which was being used by a Babylonian by the name Ili-aqabi. A portion of the allotment was a cultivated field, while the remaining portion was virgin land. Ili-aqabi rented out this plot for six years. The tenant had to convert the virgin land into arable land and to give back to the owner of the field one-fifth of the harvest obtained from the virgin land, and two-thirds of that from the arable [*NRV* 71].

Von Soden assumes that the word *aspātum* was written here instead of *aspastum*, and he translates it as "alfalfa" [*AHw*, p. 75]. However, there is no reason to believe that this text refers to a field sown with alfalfa. First of all, among the many thousands of Neo-Babylonian documents there is not a single one which documents the renting out of fields sown with alfalfa. Secondly, the part of the field in the previously mentioned document was not cultivated at all, and, if only some of it was sown with alfalfa, one could hardly call the entire field a "field of alfalfa." Furthermore, there was no need to look after virgin soil for several years in order to make it suitable for the sowing of alfalfa. It is even more unlikely that the owner would rent his own field for six years in order to receive alfalfa as payment. And even the terms of rental do not differ from those under which grain fields were leased. Finally, the word *aspātum* is itself a compound of the Iranian *aspa* ("horse") with the Akkadian plural suffix *-ātum*. It is obvious that the document deals with a plot of land which Ili-aqabi had received for the performance of military duties, and, moreover, the field itself was called the "property of the king." The word *aspa* is the Median form for designating a horse (corresponding to *aša* in Old Persian). Therefore, it is possible to propose that the system of conscription plots was borrowed by the Persian administration from the Medes.

It cannot be ruled out that the latter, in turn, had taken it from the Assyrians [*cf.* 408, 2:172; see now 198a].

Apparently, at the beginning of the rule of the Achaemenids in Babylonia the Iranian word was used for the designation of allotments of land, the owners of which had to perform military obligations as cavalrymen, since the system of conscription plots had been introduced by the Persian administration. Later on the Iranian term, alien to the Semites, was replaced by its Akkadian translation.

The "fief of the bow" and other allotments evidently existed as early as the very beginning of the reign of Cambyses, and had most likely been introduced as early as under Cyrus, soon after the capture of Babylonia by the Persians. The question may arise as to why they are not mentioned at all in the documents from the time of Cyrus, while texts dated from the reign of Cambyses refer to them only twice. It is easy to answer this. The documents which are in question are business and economic documents and such allotments could be mentioned in them only in those cases where they had become objects of rent, mortgaging, parcelling out, etc. At the beginning of Persian rule the economic situation of the owners of these allotments was stable, since the conquests were continuing, and hence the kings were concerned for their troops. When the owners of the allotments were at war, their land was cultivated by members of the family. In those cases when the state did not need these people as warriors, they had to pay taxes. But gradually such a replacement of military service by the payment of taxes became customary. This process of transition to the collection of taxes from military colonists apparently began as early as Darius I [219:41, note 16).

Monetary taxes had an especially negative effect on the households of ordinary soldiers, since the latter had to resort to the assistance of usurers in order to pay them. The owners of land were forced to pawn their allotments to these usurers and frequently were not in a position to redeem them. It is true that these allotments could not be alienated, and the creditor could take only the harvest as an equivalent of the debt, and not the mortgaged land, which was transferred by inheritance along the male line or, in case of the lack of such heirs, was returned to the state.[27] But many colonists were burdened with debts, and sometimes the creditors became the *de facto* owners of the mortgaged fiefs under the guise of adoption. For instance, according to one document from the time of Darius II, a member of the business house of Murashu, Ellil-shum-iddin from Nippur, was adopted by a western Semitic owner of a fief of

[27] It is possible that in the later Achaemenid period such allotments could be sold. At least, according to the document Joannès No. 31, a fief of the bow was sold in the town Shaṭir, near Nippur, in 424 B.C. for 30 *shekels* of "refined silver." Apparently this was made with the consent of the royal administration. It goes without saying that the new owner of the fief of the bow was obliged to fulfill obligations due from the land acquired by him.

the horse named Gadal-Iama (earlier this land had belonged to the latter's grandfather), and in this way became its co-owner. But the military service from this plot was performed by the grandson of its former owner, to whom the house of Murashu gave arms, a horse with equipment, and money for subsistence for the time spent performing duties [UCP, Vol. 9, pp. 271ff; 196:58]. According to a document from the time of Artaxerxes II, a father and son were simultaneously adopted for performance of royal service, and they were able, according to the terms of the contract, to make use of one-third of the allotment of the adoptive fathers [*NRV*, 10]. Military colonists sought the assistance of the house of Murashu for payment of state taxes in Nippur and its environs.

The conscription allotments could be rented under the condition that the owner continue to perform service. For instance, according to one document the house of Murashu rented two fields on the banks of the canal near Nippur and contributed 5 *kur*, 2 *pan*, 3 *sut* (nearly 990 liters) of barley and 2 *kur* (360 liters) of spelt as annual rent. This payment was earmarked for the "chief of the lancebearers" (*aštabarru* – an Iranian word), Kargush [BE, Vol. 10, 76].

We must also take into account the fact that the dimensions of the allotments gradually diminished, since they were divided among the heirs. Thus it not infrequently happened that two or several men jointly owned one plot or divided it among themselves. For instance, according to a document from Nippur (the time of Artaxerxes I) four individuals who were listed by name (including two brothers) voluntarily divided a grain field among themselves for fifteen years; this field was a fief of the bow and each "was obliged to serve the king from his share" [*TCL*, Vol. 13, 203]. Naturally, such a practice also led to the ruin of the military colonists. Hence, in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. the Achaemenids had to rely in their military policy primarily on mercenaries, and not on the owners of the allotments, who did not always even have military equipment.

Finally, the land plots were also received for use by state civil servants, including even the lowest ranks. Such plots were called by the Iranian term *baga* ("share, lot"). For instance Arshama, the satrap of Egypt, writes to his manager Nehtihur: "The forester Petosiri, my servant, reported the following to me: '[My father] Pamun perished when a rebellion occurred in Egypt, while the estate of 30 *ardab*[28] which my father Pamun owned, was abandoned, since the women of our house all perished then. [So give] me the estate of my father Pamun . . .'" Arshama orders the case to be investigated, and

> if it is as stated in this account, which Petosiri has sent [to me] . . . that is, (if) this

[28] That is, a farm with a sowing area of 30 *ardab* (900 liters).

> estate of 30 *ardab* was abandoned and was not attached [to my property] or was not granted by me to another servant, then I order the transfer of the estate of Pamun to Petosiri. Notify him that he would become owner (of it) and pay the land tax (*ilku*) to my treasury (literally, "property") according (to the rate) which his father Pamun formerly paid [*AD* 8].

In another letter Arshama orders one of his own subordinates: Transfer "the allotment which was granted by the king and by me to my servant Ah-hapi, who was a manager in my domains in [Upper and Lower] Egypt, to Psamshek, the son of Ah-hapi, who has now been appointed as manager in his place in my domains . . ." [*AD* 2].

The owners of such allotments paid taxes to the king and satrap, while the plots themselves could be transferred by inheritance only upon the order of the state administration.

E SLAVERY AND THE STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY

Society in the ancient Near East consisted of three large social groups: citizens of cities with full rights; various groups of freemen deprived of civil rights; and, finally, a semi-free population and slaves.

In Babylonia and some other developed countries, citizens with full rights were members of the popular assembly associated with a particular temple. Citizens participated in the cult of the local temple and had the right to obtain a certain share from the temple incomes. State and temple civil servants, priests, scribes, merchants, free craftsmen and farmers were counted among the ranks of citizens with full rights. In a legal sense, they were all regarded as enjoying equal rights, and their status was hereditary. All these individuals lived in cities and owned land within the limits of the rural countryside surrounding the particular city to which the authority of the popular assembly was extended.

The free people who were deprived of civil rights consisted of royal military colonists, foreign civil servants in royal service, and, in general, all foreigners who lived in different countries for whatever reason (although sometimes such people could create their own organization for self-government). All these groups were deprived of civil rights since they did not own land within the limits of the city's community reserve fund and, therefore, could not become members of the popular assembly.

The dependent strata of the population consisted of farmers deprived of their own property and working from generation to generation on land that belonged to the state, temples and private individuals. Legally, they were not considered to be slaves; for example, it was forbidden to sell them. Such farmers lived in the rural countryside, where urban self-government was not typical and where, in general, there were no free people.

In the most developed countries of the Achaemenid empire, slaves, who were equivalent to livestock, were the chief form of movable property: they were sold, transferred by inheritance, given away, etc. A large number of slaves performed various types of household work, but they were utilized on a much smaller scale in agriculture, in state quarries, and in construction work. A certain number of skilled craftsmen (weavers, shoemakers, architects, etc.) were also slaves.

At the beginning of the Achaemenid period a slave in Babylonia cost on average one *mina* (about 0.5 kg) of silver, but at the end of Persian rule his price had doubled. During the sale of a slave in Babylonia the seller bore responsibility, in particular for the fact that his slave was not a free man and that during the course of the first 100 days after the sale he would not flee from his new owners. More or less similar guarantees are also encountered in Egyptian documents on the sale of slaves [637:52]. The escape of slaves was quite a widespread phenomenon. Fugitive slaves were caught, branded like livestock, incarcerated in fetters and returned back to work.

Persian nobles became major slave owners in Babylonia and other conquered countries.[29] In some countries slavery had already undergone important changes by the time of the emergence of the Persian state and during the period of the reign of the Achaemenids. Although there were more slaves at this time than in any previous period, the institution of slavery itself had already begun to decline, and cases were observed where slaves were released or allotted a *peculium*. Judging by Babylonian documents and Aramaic papyri from Elephantine, slaves were sometimes freed with the stipulation that they continue to serve the master or provide him with food as long as he was alive. In some cases slaves were set free and then subsequently adopted by free people. Judging by the Aramaic papyri and documents from Babylonia, marriage between free people and slaves was likewise permitted.

When the masters could not employ the labor of slaves in their own household or considered such use of them unprofitable, the slaves were often left to themselves with the payment of a fixed quitrent from the *peculium* which the slave possessed. The size of the quitrent fluctuated depending on the property of the slave, but, on average, when calculated in money, amounted to twelve *shekels* of silver a year. (Such a sum was also equal to the average annual pay of an adult hired worker regardless of whether he was free or a slave; for the sake of comparison one may note that a slave would cost 60–90 *shekels* and that for one *shekel* of silver it was possible to purchase 180 liters of barley or dates.) Sometimes a quitrent that was monetary or in kind was replaced by work for the master.

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[29] See, for example, BE, Vol. 9, 13, 59, Vol. 10, 60, 114; UM 105, 128, 201 etc. about the slaves of Artabara, Gubaru, Manushtana, Mitradatu, Fradata, Ushtani and other Persians.

In Babylonia there was a relatively large number of slaves who had families and owned houses and substantial movable property. Slaves could dispose of their own property relatively freely – for example, mortgage it, rent it or sell it [32:320ff]. Slaves not only participated in the economic life of the country, but also had their own seals and appeared as witnesses at the conclusion of various business deals by freemen or slaves. In legal life slaves could act as freemen and be tried in court among themselves or in cases involving freemen (but not, of course, with their own masters). Moreover, there were apparently no differences in the ways in which the interests of slaves and freemen were defended. Slaves, just like freemen, gave testimonial evidence concerning crimes committed by other slaves and freemen, including their own masters [bibliography and references to texts: 32:420ff].

Slaves in Babylonia sometimes even purchased other slaves or hired free individuals to work in their own household. However, in affairs with a third party the slave could mortgage only the *peculium*, but not his own person. The master could deprive his slave of the *peculium* according to the law. Hence well-to-do slaves, although they had sufficient means, could not buy their freedom, since all their property was, in the final analysis, the property of their masters.

Several documents from the sixth century B.C., that record free individuals selling themselves, have been preserved from Egypt. In these documents, men and women sell themselves into slavery for money. According to the terms of the contract, they – together with the children who already exist or might be born in the future, and along with property already accumulated or with that which might be acquired in the future – become "perpetual" slaves of the person who purchased them, while no other man has any power over them. As can be seen from the texts, even after selling themselves these people can enter into lawful marriage, accumulate property, participate in business deals with other individuals, and so forth; nevertheless, they were considered slaves in respect to their master.

A striking impression of the privileged group of Babylonian slaves of Achaemenid times is provided by documents from the archives of the temple of Eanna in Uruk, which enable us to reconstruct in general terms the biography of a temple slave named Gimillu. Over the course of two decades (539–520 B.C.), he enjoyed great influence and occupied a high and prominent place in the administration of the temple of Eanna and its surroundings. At first he was overseer of the temple livestock, while later he collected rents and leased out hundreds of hectares of temple land.

Gimillu appears in the documents as an adroit and shameless plunderer of temple property; he was repeatedly called before a court to confess to various crimes. For instance, in 538 B.C. there was a famous trial in Uruk, conducted by six men (including even the governor of the city of Uruk). The court consisted of fifteen representatives of the freemen, while its sessions were recorded by four scribes. At this trial Gimillu was charged with twelve counts of plundering the property of the temple of Eanna (livestock, clothing, etc.). Moreover, he had freed one temple debtor from jail for a bribe. A portion of the stolen property was found in his house. Under the pressure of material evidence and testimony from numerous witnesses, Gimillu was forced to admit his guilt on all the twelve counts with which he was charged.

In 530 B.C. Gimillu caught a fugitive temple slave, who had hidden himself for two years. Instead of returning him to the temple, Gimillu hired him out to a private individual and pocketed the money. However, Gimillu did not let this matter rest but concluded a contract with yet another individual for the hiring out of that same slave. In 524 B.C. Gimillu again had to appear before a court. He kept livestock and poultry that were entrusted to him in a pen instead of driving them out into the steppe for pasture. For this he was imprisoned before trial in a warehouse, but, when they ordered him to the session of the court, he broke away from a guard and tried to flee; however, he was caught at the temple gates. But, still, Gimillu knew how to disentangle himself more or less favorably from a situation which was dangerous to his career. In 520 B.C. he had to appear again before a court, where he was convicted of the sale of a substantial quantity of dates collected as rent.

Despite his reputation as an incorrigible swindler, Gimillu enjoyed great influence and sometimes even gave various bits of advice to the higher civil servants of the temple. Apparently he was a very capable civil servant, and so despite his numerous misdemeanors he knew how to retain his high position over the course of many years. Furthermore, he obviously enjoyed the patronage of the satrap Gobryas, to whom he had access during his stay in Babylon on matters of business relating to the temple of Eanna. Gimillu possessed so much property that he was in a position to reimburse the temple for damage, the total sum of which, judging by just one document, amounted to nearly 400 head of livestock and 1 *mina*, 10 *shekels* of silver. He was a typical representative of the elite group of temple slaves, enjoying substantial freedom and controlling a relatively large amount of property. Of course, this elite group stood in contrast to the large number of temple slaves who lived at the expense of rations distributed to them from the temple household and who were ready at any moment to flee from the temple and attempt to obtain their freedom [for more details, see 32:533ff].

Debt slavery was already no longer widespread in the time of the Achaemenids, at least in the most developed countries. Instances of pledging one's own person for debt, not to mention self-sale, were extremely rare. The Aramaic papyri of the fifth century B.C. do not mention children as a security for debt, but it was possible to mortgage children in Babylonia, Judah and Egypt [564:57–9; 637:55; 276:43ff]. In Egypt the power of the father over even adult children was great: he could dispose of the property of his children and hire them out [637:55].

In the case of non-payment of a debt by the appointed deadline, the creditor could turn the children over into slavery. The Book of Nehemiah (5:3–5) says that the residents of Judah mortgaged fields, vineyards and houses in order to buy bread for subsistence, and gave their children away into slavery; lacking the necessary means, they could not buy back their freedom. In 433 B.C. the Persian governor of Judah, Nehemiah, carried out a series of important social reforms, including a release from one's debts after every seven years.

A creditor could arrest an insolvent debtor and lock him up in a debtors' prison. For instance, the house of Murashu had several debtors' prisons in Nippur. According to the testimony of one document, four individuals appealed to Rimut-Ninurta, one of the leading members of the house of Murashu, with a request to release two women from a debtors' prison for a given period and vouched for the fact that those who were released would not run away. If these women were to flee, the guarantors agreed to pay 1.5 *talents* of silver "without trial." The document itself was drawn up in Nippur in the presence of eleven witnesses [Kr 203]. Under similar terms the house of Murashu handed over four women from their debtors' prison to their husbands [Stolper, CBS 5212]. A resident of Nippur Bel-ah-iddin appeals to Ellil-shum-iddin from the house of Murashu, with the request: "Release into my command Nidintu-Bel . . . the son of my brother, who has been arrested and finds himself in jail. I vouch for the fact that he will not leave Nippur for any other place." This request was granted, but with the stipulation that the guarantor would pay 10 *mina* of silver if Nidintu-Bel were to escape from Nippur [BE, Vol. 9, 57].

However, in Achaemenid times the creditor could not sell a debtor into slavery to a third person. Usually the debtor paid off the loan by antichresis (free work for the creditor), thereby preserving his freedom. The practices of pledging one's own person for debt and of selling oneself into slavery had totally disappeared by the Persian period.

The number of slaves who were prisoners of war was considerable. For instance, in Babylonia they sold slaves, known as the "booty of the bow," who had been brought out from Egypt, Bactria and other countries, while in Egypt there was a considerable number of slaves of Libyan and Cilician origin. The Babylonian texts of Achaemenid times mention slaves who were taken from Egypt, Bactria, Gandara and other countries [references to texts: 32:110–11].

In general, even in the most developed countries, there were few slaves

relative to the number of free persons; their labor could not supplant the labor of free workers. The basis of agriculture was the labor of free farmers and tenants, while in handicrafts the labor of free artisans, whose occupation was usually inherited within the family, was likewise dominant.

Temples and private slave-owners were forced to make widespread use of the skilled labor of free workers in the handicrafts, agriculture, and particularly in the performance of difficult types of work (irrigation projects, construction work, etc.). There were many hired workers in Babylonia, and they frequently worked on the construction of irrigation structures or in the fields in crews of several dozen or several hundred men. These countless masses of hired hands consisted of free and land-starved peasants who had been brought to ruin. Sometimes such workers were even recruited from neighboring countries (such as Elam) for pay and board, and after the harvest they returned to their native land.

The following document sheds an interesting light on the utilization of the labor of free individuals by the Babylonian temples. The steward of the temple of Eanna and the royal commissioner proclaimed

> to the carpenters, metal engravers, goldsmiths, and to all the craftsmen (of the temple) of Eanna . . . "[You will make] repairs and work on silver, gold, bronze, gems, and wood and any other work. [If] you do not do this work and are not engaged in repair work and [. . . if someone] were to perform work or make repairs [in] another temple, [then he would be subject to punishment by the king]."
>
> The carpenters, metal engravers, goldsmiths, and all the craftsmen of the (temple) of Eanna *in toto* [swore by (the gods) Bel, Nabu, and by Cyrus, king of Babylon] . . . in the following words: "None [of us] will freely work without your permission or make repairs in [other] temples of the city or in [other] places of worship and [in general] in any other place. We shall not hide nor keep secret anything that we see or hear concerning whether anyone does work in another [place]" [Weisberg 1].

The document was drawn up in Uruk in the period of the reign of Cyrus II. The temple authorities, apparently, feared that other clients would entice away the craftsmen who had worked in Eanna and they tried to prevent this. The craftsmen, obviously, could refuse to submit to the requirements placed upon them, but in such a case they would be deprived of their exclusive right to repair temple property in Eanna.

Isolated documents concerning the hiring of free people to perform various agricultural jobs have been preserved from Egypt [599:243].

The institution of slavery was still poorly developed in eastern Iran and in the Central Asian satrapies, and slaves are only rarely mentioned in the Avesta. In comparison with the western satrapies of the Achaemenid state, slavery in Persia had a series of unique features. By the time that their own state had emerged, the Persians knew only patriarchal slavery, and, in terms of its economic significance, slave labor was still not important. Just as in many other countries of the ancient East, all the subjects of the king, including even highly-placed leaders (*e.g.* satraps), were regarded as slaves of the king. On consideration of this, the Greek authors wrote that, with the exception of the king, all the Persian people were a mass of slaves deprived of civic virtues. The most common term to designate slaves in ancient Iran was the word *banda*, from the verb *band*, meaning "to tie, link, connect, to put into chains." This term was used not only to designate actual slaves, but also even to express general dependence (*e.g.* on the king or a satrap).

The heads of patriarchal families in Iran were essentially like slaveholders in respect to members of their own families. For instance, Aristotle (*Eth. Nic.* IX, 12) notes that among the Persians the authority of the father was tyrannical and that they used their own children as slaves. With this in mind, we should note that one of the Iranian terms to designate slaves – *grda*, the original meaning of which was "household slave" – is of great interest. This term has been documented in Aramaic and Babylonian texts in the form of *garda* and in Elamite documents from Persepolis as *kurtash*. In all the previously mentioned texts the word *grda/kurtash* designates workers in the royal household and of the households of Persian nobles. Usually the word *kurtash* has a collective meaning, but it is used in some texts with both singular and plural suffixes.

The Persepolis Fortification tablets record, in particular, the ration of payment in kind for the *kurtash* with grain, flour, rams, wine and beer in the years 509 to 494 B.C., while the Treasury tablets note payments of silver and foodstuffs to these workers in the years 492–458 B.C.

Kurtash are often characterized in the documents in terms of sex and age descriptions, place of work, and occupation. The *kurtash*, first and foremost, were the craftsmen who built the city of Persepolis, including all its palaces: stone masons, master woodworkers, carpenters, blacksmiths, jewelers, sculptors, etc. There were nearly 4,000 men engaged in construction work simultaneously at Persepolis.

Apparently there were also plowmen among the *kurtash*, since the *kurtash* received grain for sowing. *Kurtash* are mentioned as being millers, and they probably also tended livestock. For instance, in one letter Shuddayauda, the supervisor of the *kurtash*, reported to Pharnaces, the manager of the royal household, that the cattle in the locality of Shalir were without grain [*PF* 1792], from which we can conclude that these livestock were at the disposal of the *kurtash*. Judging by the Treasury tablets, shepherds, winemakers and beer brewers, in particular, were among the *kurtash* who worked outside Persepolis. In short, the *kurtash* served the entire immense royal household in Persia and Elam.

Ethnically, the *kurtash* consisted of representatives of the peoples conquered by the Persians: Egyptians, Babylonians, Lydians, Ionians, Cappadocians, Carians, Sogdians, Bactrians, etc. For instance, 547 Egyptians were sent to the locality of Tamukkan for work in the year 501 B.C.; 224 Assyrian[30] *kurtash* worked in Persepolis in 498 B.C. One Assyrian master woodworker worked in Persepolis the same year for a period of five months. Substantial groups of Babylonians are mentioned in a similar manner. A series of texts records the distribution of foodstuffs to Babylonian scribes who wrote on leather (their number fluctuates from three to 31 in different groups) and who worked upon assignment from highly-placed civil servants of Pharnaces and Zishshavish.[31] These texts also mention servants attached to the scribes; moreover, both the scribes themselves, as well as their servants, were numbered among the ranks of the *kurtash*. One text records the distribution of grain to seventeen Ionians. Ionian women who received allowances after childbirth are also mentioned. The documents speak of groups of Cappadocian and Carian workers of 100 and more men. *Kurtash* from the tribe of the Termilai (the ethnic name found in Herodotus I, 173 is used to designate the inhabitants of Lycia; *cf.* 261:209), in particular, are frequently mentioned. Thracian *kurtash* are also referred to more than once.[32] For instance, one text sets out the food rations for 520 Thracians. There were 133 Thracians working in Kurdushum, 220 in Rakkan and 150 in Tamukkan. Further on, 100 Sogdian *kurtash* are mentioned, along with 52 Sogdians in the vicinity of Harakurra, as well as Bactrian *kurtash* and, apparently, workers from Arachosia. Two texts speak of groups of Persian boys, consisting of sixteen and 29 individuals, who were engaged in scribal work in the vicinity of Pittannan; moreover, they were called *kurtash* in one document. This is still the only known case where Persians were numbered among the ranks of the *kurtash*. Finally, the Treasury tablets speak of such groups of *kurtash* as 55 stonemasons "who arrived in Persia from Egypt"; 313 Syrian *kurtash*; 201 Syrian, Egyptian and Ionian *kurtash*, 72 Carian stonemasons; 1,149 craftsmen of "different tribes," etc.

Short Greek inscriptions in a certain quarry not far from Persepolis in the western part of the Kuh-i Rahmat mountain also testify to the fact that there were Ionians (or possibly other Greeks) among the *kurtash*. On the

[30] *Aššuriya*. In all probability this is a reference to the inhabitants of the fifth satrapy of the Achaemenid empire, which included northern Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, Phoenicia and Cyprus [Herod. III, 91].

[31] Men, women and children of both sexes were among these scribes. Apparently women and children appeared only as members of the families of scribes; however in some texts the number of women exceeds the number of men. For example, five men, two boys, eight women and two girls are enumerated in one group of Babylonian scribes.

[32] *Iškudra*. The land and people of Skudra are also mentioned in the Achaemenid inscriptions; judging by their geographical position in the lists of Achaemenid provinces, they correspond to Thrace and Macedonia.

cliff of the quarry the following is written in Ionian: "I (*i.e.*, the cliff) belong to Pytharchos." Obviously, this cliff was reserved for the Greek Pytharchos and his fellow workers for future stone quarrying. Not far from this quarry another Greek, by the name of Nikon, also memorialized his name for posterity. According to epigraphic data, these inscriptions date from the beginning of the fifth century B.C. [199:31ff]. Sketchings on stone of two human heads, which were the work of Greek masters, were also found in Persepolis [367:73–4]. However, it is possible that the Ionians mentioned in the Persepolis texts were not Greek, but autochthonous residents of Asia Minor [*cf.* below, p. 183].

According to the texts that have been published so far, the *kurtash* were quartered in 108 cities and settlements throughout all of Persia and Elam, serving the huge royal household, the likes of which had not been seen in the Near East in the first millennium B.C. In the years 509–494 B.C. there were 16,186 *kurtash* in these 108 settlements, ranging from several to a thousand persons in each locality (sometimes even several thousand workers). However, this figure is not complete, since it does not include those workers whose residence was not indicated in the texts. In addition, some economic texts have still not been discovered, while many texts that have already been unearthed remain unpublished. Finally, some of the documents have been poorly preserved, and they cannot always be taken into consideration.

If we take the number of *kurtash* in all the published Fortification tables (*i.e.* the period between the years 509 and 494 B.C.), we obtain the following figures (the percentages are rounded off):

Total	Men	Women	Boys	Girls
21,576	8,183	8,564	2,687	2,142
100%	37.5%	39.8%	12.7%	10%

As can be seen from these data, there was a roughly equal number of men and women (and also of adolescents of both sexes). This fact forces us to assume that the *kurtash*, as a rule, lived as families. For instance, in Baktish there was a group of 50 Cappadocian *kurtash*, which consisted of 19 men, 19 women, 6 boys and 6 girls. Another group of 65 Cappadocian *kurtash* consisted of 28 men, 27 women, 7 boys and 3 girls. There were 13 men and women each, 4 boys and one girl in one group of Bactrian and Termilai workers. Among the Carian artisans, there were 27 men and women each, 13 girls and 3 boys [*cf.* 327:32ff; 35:329, note 2]. 60 men, 59 women, 9 boys and 5 girls comprised one crew of Thracian *kurtash*. In a number of texts the ratio of men to women is not equal: for instance, in a group of 145 workers there were 47 men, 37 women, 34 boys and 31 girls. And in some texts the imbalance between the number of men and women is substantial: for instance, a group of 167 workers consisted of 6 men, 16 boys, 130 women and 15 girls. In a group of 244 workers there were 49 men, 111 women, 45 boys and 39 girls. In some groups there were no men at all, but only women and children. Sizeable groups consisting exclusively of women are also mentioned, but alongside this there were also separate specialized male detachments consisting of blacksmiths, stonemasons and other craftsmen.

Workers were transferred from place to place in accordance with economic demands. Such relocations were carried out upon the order of the supervisors over the *kurtash*, and also by order of the highly-placed civil servants Zishshavish and Pharnaces, and sometimes even by order of the king himself. For instance, 547 Egyptian *kurtash*, 150 Thracians, and 304 additional workers were despatched to Tamukkan. There were 108 Cappadocians, 100 workers from Termilai and 262 additional *kurtash*, etc. sent to Elam (some texts say to Susa). One document testifies to the relocation of 1,500 workers from Persepolis to Susa. Large groups of *kurtash* were also sent to Persepolis, Matezzish, etc.

The duration of the work of the *kurtash* has not been directly documented. Many texts record the distribution of foodstuffs to them for six to seven months and from ten to eleven months, and sometimes even for an entire year. Consequently the *kurtash* worked in the royal economy the year round. It is possible to determine that the same crew of *kurtash* worked for an even longer period, *i.e.* two years and more.

In the majority of cases the *kurtash* worked as groups of several hundred men, and some documents speak of crews of *kurtash* with a number of more than a thousand men. Such crews were divided into smaller subdivisions, at the head of which stood the foremen and centurions.[33]

After the publication of the Treasury tablets, scholars sharply disagreed in their opinions concerning the question of the payment or rations which the *kurtash* received. In the opinion of some, the allowance distributed to the *kurtash* consisted of bare subsistence rations. Others, on the contrary, feel that the *kurtash* not only did not starve, but received rather high pay.

Regular payment or rations for the *kurtash* were called *gal*. In some Aramaic endorsements to the Elamite documents *gal* has been translated to mean "allowance, rations." However, the meaning of the Elamite correlate is much wider, since it definitely designates not only allowance and monetary payment for the *kurtash*, but also payment of civil servants of the state apparatus (including such highly-placed individuals as, for instance, Pharnaces, the manager of the royal household), road rations for messengers, etc., as well as fodder for livestock.

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[33] This division of work groups is documented in the Aramaic papyri from Egypt. For example, in the Memphis arsenal where state ships were built, equipped and repaired, master craftsmen from various ends of the Persian empire (Babylonians, Phoenicians, Choresmians, etc.), were divided into brigades [A–G, pp. 52–62]. Obviously, there was a uniform procedure for making up work brigades from representatives of various ethnic groups throughout the entire Achaemenid empire [*cf.* 327:41–2; 118:190].

The regular payment for the *kurtash* was issued in grain (usually barley, less frequently wheat and millet, while flour was issued while traveling *en route* somewhere), wine or beer, and vegetable oil. Usually men received 3 *bar* (29.1 liters) of grain a month, and women received from 2 to 3 *bar*, while adolescents of both sexes received 0.5 to 2.5 (girls were issued less than boys); when computed in terms of a daily norm, this ranges from roughly 0.5 liters (the lowest rate for adolescents) to 1 liter (the normal rate for men) [*cf. PF*, p. 5; 382:431–2; 383:274]. For the sake of comparison, note that 118 "free" people received 1.5 *ka* (nearly 1.5 liters) per day during business trips, while 173 "servants" received 1 *ka* of flour. Civil servants who traveled to different regions on state business were usually issued 1.5 *ka* of flour per day, while women and adolescents who for one reason or another accompanied these civil servants were issued one *ka*.

Some workers received an even larger quantity of grain. The maximum allowance in grain was equal to 6 *bar*, but such a payment was received only by a few individuals. Although in the majority of cases women were issued 2 *bar* of grain a month, some women (chiefly the forewomen of the work brigades) received up to 5 *bar*. Sixteen workers from Termilai, who were quartered in Rakkan, were issued 5 *bar* of grain per month. Seventeen Ionians also received the same rate. Nine Lydian blacksmiths received 4.5 *bar* of grain. Several documents record the issue of grain for large crews of workers (694, 702 and 677 persons), in which one man received 5 *bar*, 49 men received 4 *bar*, 31 men received 3.5 *bar*, 4 women received 5 *bar* and 128 women received 4 *bar*, while the remaining individuals received the normal ration. Scribes (Persians and Babylonians) received from 1 to 4 *bar*, while Persian adolescents were issued no less than 3 *bar* and Babylonian adolescents only 1 to 2 *bar*.

In isolated cases half of the barley ration was replaced by fruit or other products. In Hallock's opinion such a substitution was caused by short-term difficulties in the supply of barley [*PF*, pp. 32ff]. It is worth noting that according to a series of documents 120 *bar* of barley were released from state storehouses for the offering of sacrifices to the gods Ahuramazda and Mishdushi; "then the *kurtash* ate up (this grain)."

According to the texts published at present, in the 22nd year of the reign of Darius I (500 B.C.) the administration of the royal household expended 26,228.2 *bar* (*c.* 262,280 liters) of grain and flour, from which 16,212.7 *bar* were distributed as provisions for the *kurtash*.

Besides grain, the workers were also issued with sesame oil, usually computed in terms of 1 *ka* (0.97 liters) per month. One document records the distribution of the grain ration for 34 *kurtash* in the vicinity of Hutpirri, while another tablet refers to the issue of sesame oil to the same individuals for roughly the same work period. There were 410 *kurtash* who received one *ka* of sesame oil per month. However, information concerning the issue of sesame oil is poor, and possibly not all the *kurtash* received vegetable oil.

Adult workers were also issued, besides grain and sesame oil, from 1 to 3 *marrish* (around 10 to 30 liters) of wine or beer per month. Hallock notes that two texts compiled in the same month record the distribution of both grain and wine for one man and one woman who worked in the vicinity of Pittannan [*PF*, pp. 30–1]. However, such texts are few, and it is possible that wine rations were not received by all the *kurtash*, but only by the most skilled workers [*cf.* 384:274]. One man out of 259 workers received 3 *marrish* of wine per month; 29 men received 2 *marrish*; 145 men received 1 *marrish*; 5 women received 3 *marrish*; and 78 women received 1 *marrish*. Women rarely received 3 *marrish* of wine; usually only brigade forewomen received that much. A hundred workers from Termilai, who were sent to Elam, each received one-thirtieth of a *marrish* of wine daily *en route*, *i.e.* 0.333 liters. Sometimes they were issued with beer instead of wine, usually one *ka* each per day.

Only quite a small number of workers – the most highly skilled craftsmen and foremen of work groups – received meat. For instance, in accordance with the written instructions of Pharnaces, five women, who were designated supervisors over the *kurtash* in five settlements, were respectively issued four rams each for a period of 19 months. There were 163 and four-ninths rams distributed among 177 male craftsmen who had worked in Persepolis for a period of five months. Six men received two-thirds of a ram each; 21 received a half; fourteen received one-third; while the remainder received from one-sixth to one-fifteenth of a ram. In other words, these individuals received only one-seventh to one seventy-fifth of a ram per month.

Till now our concern has been the allowances or payments which were issued to the *kurtash* regularly. Full pay was restricted to grain for some groups, while others even received wine or beer, and some also received vegetable oil and meat in addition to everything else. Sometimes, from case to case, workers were even issued supplementary rations in grain (or flour), sesame oil, figs and other dry fruit (in one case even meat) [*cf. PF*, p. 36]. Forty-seven Thracians were issued 32.9 *bar* of flour for six months, *i.e.* each of them received 7 *ka*, or nearly one liter per month; 64 *kurtash* received 1 *ka* each of flour per month for a period of six months.

Additional wine rations were apparently issued once every two months, usually in the amount of 1 *ka* per man or even less. Sometimes beer was substituted for wine. For instance, 104 *kurtash* received 0.5 *ka* of beer each. There is only one text concerning the issue of additional allowances in meat, according to which 751 *kurtash* in Urandush received mutton calculated on the basis of one ram for every 30 men. Finally, the *kurtash* received figs, dates, or other fruits as a supplemental allowance, usually in the amount of one *ka* per month for each of them. One document records the issue of figs and dates to 42 workers, to whom wine was also released almost at the same time.

A special supplemental allowance was released for *kurtash* women who were confined by childbirth (among whom were Ionians, Thracians, etc.). Moreover, women who gave birth to boys invariably received twice the allowance that those who had given birth to girls received.[34] Each of them was issued with 0.5 to 1 *marrish* of wine or beer, probably for a year, also 1 to 2 *bar* of grain or flour, apparently also for a year.

The usual work period for which the *kurtash* received payment or rations was a month, but sometimes it was several days or months. For instance, according to one document 80 workers received allowances "month after month." Another text contains the instructions of Pharnaces, the chief of the royal economy, on the distribution of wine to goldsmiths "month after month." Workers who were traveling somewhere received an allowance on a daily basis.

Sometimes, however, the payment was distributed with delays of two months or more. Hallock, considering the evidence from one document to the effect that "the *kurtash* did not receive rations," believes that the workers could scarcely remain without food. In his opinion, the local commissaries issued allowances regularly, and then the corresponding quantity of foods was released to them from the state warehouses by way of reimbursement [*PF*, p. 57]. However, it is most likely that surpluses existed among the *kurtash*, upon which they subsisted during delays in receiving their rations; alternatively, some of the *kurtash* might have had their own small household. The letter from Pharnaces addressed to Irshena, an overseer of the *kurtash*, is very interesting; it contains an order to issue 15 *bar* of flour to a certain Assyrian master woodworker, for work done over a period of five months from the third to the seventh month of the 24th year of the reign of Darius I. The letter itself was dated the fifth month of that same year, and, consequently, the payment had been issued with a delay of two or three months.

The payment to the *kurtash* was continuous for the same group. For instance, in the fifth to the seventh months of the 23rd year a group of Thracians received the following allowances: sixteen men received 3 *bar* each of grain and eight women received 2 *bar* each. Obviously, in the other months for which there is still no information the payment was the same. There were four *kurtash* from the treasury building in Ankarakkan who received the same payment from the 20th to the 22nd years (two men received 3 *bar* of grain each per month, one woman received 2 *bar*, and one girl received 1.5 *bar*). According to one document, 27 workers would receive 46 *bar* of grain monthly "like the *kurtash*, who are on rations in (the vicinity of) Ibarash."

All that has been said above applies to the system of payment during the period of the Fortification tablets, *i.e.* 509 to 494 B.C. Later, substantial changes occurred in the methods and amount of payment to the *kurtash*. In particular, workers also began to be paid money. A monetary payment for the *kurtash* appears in the Treasury texts that have been preserved in the 32nd year of Darius I (490 B.C.), where it is noted that silver was paid to the workers in place of the ration of meat [384:274–5]. Thus, according to *PTT* 9, the stonemasons who "arrived in Persepolis from Egypt" were issued money for the month instead of mutton: eleven men were issued 3 *shekels* of silver each, 20 men were issued 1.5 *shekels*, while 24 were issued one *shekel* of silver each. In the same year, 490 B.C., a group of *kurtash* received a monetary payment over a period of seven months [*PTT* 2], while a certain Egyptian master woodworker with the rank of centurion earned 6.5 *shekels* of silver for each month [*PTT* 1] over the course of five months. The texts tell how in the majority of other analogous cases silver was given to him as *šak*. In 1948 Cameron translated this word and its different variants as "equivalent," suggesting that the payment to the *kurtash* was reckoned in silver, while a portion of it was issued in kind [*PTT*, pp. 52–3]. But in 1958 he proposed translating this word as "remaining" payment, thinking that the *kurtash*, in addition to silver, also received substantial payments in kind, the amount of which was not indicated in the Treasury tablets. In his opinion, these payments in kind were recorded in special texts which have still not been found [PTTON, pp. 163ff].

Many scholars have disagreed with the translation of *šak* as "remaining" payment and have suggested that a large portion of the *kurtash* received meager rations. Hallock translates this word as "counterpart (payment)," while Diakonoff and Hinz translate it as "replacement" [343:91ff; 36:81; 378:243]. Such an interpretation essentially coincides with the translation "equivalent" or "counterpart (payment)". Hinz points out that semantically this word is connected with the homomorph *šak*, which means "son," since in Elamite the son is conceived as the replacement of the dead father [384:275]. Later, Cameron also returned to his previous translation of *šak* as "equivalent" [NTPT, p. 171], and now the translation "replacement" can be considered definitively established, since one Fortification tablet refers to the payment of fruit instead (*šak*) of barley for 120 *kurtash* [384:275].

From the seventh year of Xerxes (479 B.C.) onwards, the Treasury tablets usually began, for the sake of accounting, to note the amount of both the monetary payment and the payment in kind to the *kurtash*. In other words, the scribes began to indicate in the documents that the silver issued to the workers was a third, a half, or two-thirds of their total pay, the remaining portion of which was issued in kind according to a wage scale of one ram for 3 *shekels* and one jug (9.7 liters) of wine for 1 *shekel* of silver. Moreover, such a scale of prices remained unchanged at least from 492 to 458 B.C. Hinz at first postulated that a partial replacement of the payment in kind by a monetary payment was brought about by the administration of the royal economy in all those cases where the workers asked for it. Such a substitution was disadvantageous for the latter,since during the partitioning of a ram, say, among ten to 20 men, part of the *kurtash* would be short-changed. Furthermore, the administration might issue a ram that was poor in quality. Hence, many workers refused meat and wine portions in order to purchase these foods on the free market [382:432–3]. Later, Hinz came to the conclusion that the substitution of a monetary payment for a payment in kind was carried out both at the end of the reign of Darius I and under Xerxes and Artaxerxes I only as an exception for certain categories of workers, in contrast to the majority of *kurtash*, who had to restrict themselves to food products and who generally did not receive silver. As far as grain issues are concerned, not a single worker could refuse them, and hence these shares were not replaced by money [384:276–9]. An exception was the fiscal year 467–466 B.C., when a critical shortage of barley occurred and its price had risen almost eighty times in comparison with the usual price [343:94; 384:279]. Thus the administrative apparatus issued money to workers over the course of this difficult year, proceeding on the basis of normal prices for barley, which, quite naturally, were disadvantageous to the *kurtash*.

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[34] In passing we note that, according to the texts, the number of infants of both sexes was approximately the same. For example, *PF* 1219 refers to 40 women who gave birth to boys and 42 mothers of girls. Hallock has observed that the total number of *kurtash* babies mentioned in published texts is 449, of which 247 (55 per cent) are boys [*PF*, p. 37].

Let us dwell for a while on some of the Treasury tablets that record the payment for the *kurtash*. According to *PTT* 42, the equivalent of half of a month's pay for 190 workers in Shiraz in the year 467 B.C. amounted to 3¾ *shekels* of silver each for twelve men and 2½ *shekels* of silver each for 78 women, while for adolescents of both sexes it ranged from ⅝ to 2½ *shekels* (while 20 girls received ⅝ of a *shekel*). Half a month's wages for the Carian craftsmen in Persepolis were equal to 4⅙ *shekels* for one man, 2½ *shekels* for 26 men and 1⅔ *shekels* for 27 women, while for adolescents of both sexes it ranged from 5/6 to 5/12 of a *shekel* [*PTT* 37]. The Carian stonemasons received wages as follows: one man, 6¼ *shekels*; 26 men, 3¾ *shekels* each; four boys, 1¼ *shekels* each; one boy, ⅝ of a *shekel*; 27 women, 2½ *shekels* each; five girls, 1⅞ each; three girls, 1¼ each; and four girls, ⅝ each [NTPT 2]. There were three stonemasons who received one *shekel* each per month; one who received ½ *shekel*; and 3 others who received ⅓ *shekel* each [NTPT 1]. There were 957 Babylonian(?) quarry workers to whom were issued wages for the month as follows: 660 men, 1½ *shekels* each; 203 women, one *shekel* each; while adolescents of both sexes were issued silver in amounts ranging from ½ to 1 *shekel* [NTPT 20]. Four beer brewers each received 3¾, while one boy received 1⅞ *shekel* [*PTT* 38]. Beer brewers from another group were paid according to the following wage scale: nineteen men were issued 3⅓ *shekels* each; two boys, 1⅔ *shekel*; three boys, ½ *shekel*; nine women, 2 *shekels* each, etc. [*PTT* 46]. One Egyptian, a beer brewer, who worked in Persepolis, was paid 2½ *shekels* [NTPT 16]. Wine-makers were paid as follows: twelve men, 3⅓ *shekels* each, while nine boys were paid 2 *shekels* each and the remaining nine boys were paid one *shekel* each [NTPT 14]. According to testimony from *PTT* 39, in the year 466 B.C. a group of *kurtash* consisting of 1,348 individuals worked in Persepolis, from which four men received 7½ *shekels* each per month, eight men received 6 *shekels* each, 270 men received 4⅓ *shekels*, five women received 6¼, 303 women received 5 *shekels* each, 150 women received 3¾ *shekels* each, 38 women received 3 each, 56 women received 2 each, and adolescents received from 3⅛ to ⅝ *shekels*. In all the above instances, it was a question of only a half month's pay, the remaining part of which was paid in kind. In other words, if one doubles the figures that have been cited above, one receives the total for the full rates for a month's pay.

In 466 B.C. there were 612 master woodworkers who received ⅔ of a *shekel* each (385 men); ½ *shekel* each (76 men); and ⅓ *shekel* (the remainder) as a third of their monthly pay (two-thirds of their pay was issued to them in the form of wine) over a period of three months [*PTT* 75]. Document *PTT* 79 records the payment to craftsmen of two-thirds of their monthly pay (they had to receive the remaining third in wine) over the course of half a year at the following wages: 788 men each received ⅔ *shekel*, 85 received ½, and 271 received ⅓ *shekel*.

Judging by the texts, the maximum total pay to the *kurtash* during the period of the Treasury tablets, when calculated in monetary terms, reached 15 *shekels* (half of it was usually issued in kind). But such high pay was received only by a few individuals, namely, the most-highly-qualified craftsmen who headed the work brigades. The minimum wage in silver was equal to ½ and ⅓ *shekels* per month. The usual monetary payment of workers fluctuated between 3¾ and ⅔ *shekels* a month. Moreover, the *kurtash* paid around 3¾ *shekels* of silver received a monthly payment in kind for the same amount, while wage rates of ⅔, ½ and ⅓ *shekel* were usually equivalent to ⅓ of the total wage. For the sake of comparison, it is worth noting that accountants received 5½ *shekels* of silver each per month.

It is impossible to establish a particularly sharp gradation in the wages of various groups of the *kurtash*; on the other hand, such a gradation can be observed within individual groups. In other words, if not all *kurtash* received the same pay, then it frequently depended on their trade, skills, intensiveness of labor, amount and quality of work performed, and also on sex and age.

Now let us turn to parallel sources. As we have already said, the term *garda* is encountered in Aramaic and Babylonian texts (chiefly in the documents of the house of Murashu) from Achaemenid times onwards. Henning pointed out that this word, as well as the Elamite *kurtash*, is a transcription of the corresponding Old Iranian word with the meaning of "domestic slave." In the second half of the fifth century B.C., the *garda* were settled on the land in the region around Nippur. Some texts note that the fields that belonged to the *garda* bordered on the fields of other individuals. The *garda* would often rent out their fields and date groves to the house of Murashu. For instance, the fields of *garda* situated along the banks of several canals were rented to the house of Murashu, which annually paid Patan-Esi, "the overseer of the garda," 30 *kur* (5,400 liters) of barley (UM 91). The document was compiled in Nippur in the year 420 B.C. The house of Murashu contributed 20 *kur* (3,600 liters) of millet as rent for the 28th year of Artaxerxes I (437 B.C.) from the fields situated along the banks of the canals in the vicinity of Bit-kippu near Nippur, not counting the 160 *kur* (28,800 liters) paid earlier [BE, Vol. 9, 15]. The rent was received by a certain Bişa, overseer of the *garda* in the vicinity of Bit-kippu, who in the end had to deliver the millet to an agent of the Persian civil servant Artambara. In 424 B.C. this same Bişa received rent from the fields that belonged to the *garda* and were situated along the banks of several canals (UM 2). The payment was made according to the written instructions of the "overseer of the *garda*." In 420 B.C. the house of Murashu delivered 47 *kur* (8,460 liters) of barley, three vats of beer, two rams and 4.5 *pan* (162 liters) of flour as rent from the irrigated fields near Tahmaya, which belonged to the *garda* [BE, Vol. 10, 92]. That same year, a steward of prince Achaemenes and one *garda* received rent from the house of Murashu from the fields of Achaemenes [UM 202].

In 420 B.C. the fields of one of the Achaemenid princes were rented out to the house of Murashu. In accordance with the orders of the manager of the property of the prince, the rent (294 *kur*, *i.e.* 54,920 liters of barley) was received by the cashier and by the distributor of provisions for the *garda* [BE X, 95]. Both recipients had to deliver the barley to the prince's steward and to the overseer of the *garda*.

As can be observed from the texts that have been cited, some of the Babylonian *garda* were settled on the land, while others received allowances for their work. The *garda* are mentioned in the Babylonian documents only in connection with Achaemenid kings ("the *garda* belonging to the king") and with members of the royal family. Judging by their personal names, the *garda* consisted of Babylonians and Egyptians. They were under the supervision of special officials.

After examination of the Achaemenid texts, Eilers concluded that the nature of the *garda* cannot be determined from the documents, but, rather, that these were people attached to certain estates who worked on a compulsory basis [263:193ff]. Cardascia believes that the *garda* were made up of contingents of troops or workers who were closely connected to the estates of the princes [195:79, note 1].

Contradictory opinions have been expressed in the literature concerning the legal status of the *kurtash*. In particular, some scholars believe that the *kurtash* were prisoners of war who had been turned into slaves [374:349; 277:505], while others view the *kurtash* as constituting the bottom layers of the free population of Persians, who had lost their own land allotments and who worked in great numbers – either for economic reasons or on a forced basis – on the estates of the kings and nobility [96:36]. According to Cameron and Schmidt, some of the *kurtash* were free Persian craftsmen, while the remaining ones arrived in Iran from other countries [PTTON, pp. 163–5; 627, 1:161, note 34]. Diakonoff, on the contrary, thinks that most *kurtash* were slaves, although there might have been among them a certain number of free people from community-held lands, recruited for corvée work to the king. In support of his view, Diakonoff argues that, given the poor level of development of Persian society, more than 3,000 men could not have been hired to work for the king [36:82–8]. Harmatta posits the view that the *kurtash* were semi-free people settled on royal land [348:208]. Let us look at this question in more detail.

Document *PF* 1092 refers to 80 "*kurtash* of the king," who subsisted on rations in the vicinty of Karkutiya, while *PF* 1127 mentions "royal *kurtash*" who received rations in Marsashkash. Obviously, in the overwhelming number of cases it is implied that the *kurtash* belonged to the king, *i.e.* that they were state workers. But a number of texts also mention *kurtash* who belonged to certain individuals. Many texts refer to major groups of *kurtash* – according to one document, 490 persons, and in others, several hundred workers – who belonged to a woman by the name of Irdabama, in all likelihood a close relative of the king [*cf. PF*, p. 29]. Her workers were quartered in Shiraz, Tamukkan, Tukrash and Turtukkan. Tablet *PF* 1029 records the issue of foodstuffs for 244 *kurtash* of Irdabama for the 24th year. It is interesting to note that from the 25th year *PF* 1030 mentions the same group of workers (now 241 individuals) in almost the same gender-and-age ratio; however they were not called the *kurtash* of Irdabama. Obviously this omission is accidental. Two documents speak of *kurtash* that belonged to Irtashduna (the wife of Darius I); these texts show that the *kurtash* worked in Iran not only on the royal household, but also on the estates of the nobility, as was the case in Babylonia and Egypt.

In most cases the overseers of the *kurtash* were, judging by their personal names (*e.g.* Otana, Baradkama, Aspathines, etc.), Persians or other Iranians, while in some instances they were also Elamites, Babylonians, etc. They assigned the *kurtash* to work and saw to the successful completion of their tasks. Payment for the *kurtash* was issued in accordance with the written orders of their overseers. The lower bosses (centurions and foremen) were appointed from the ranks of the *kurtash* themselves (for instance, Egyptian foremen are mentioned several times). The overall supervision of the *kurtash* was carried out by Pharnaces, manager of the royal household.

There was scarcely any significant number of Persians among the *kurtash*. As has been noted above, only once do the texts name Persians as *kurtash* (boy scribes). It is also possible that there were workers of Persian origin among the shepherds and wine-growers. Benveniste notes that the text Fort. 3707 mentions *kurtash*-Marappiyash, in which the latter name corresponds to the name of the Persian tribe of Maraphioi mentioned by Herodotus [140:56]. But other data do not contain any information whatsoever which would enable one to assume that Persians worked among the ranks of the *kurtash* who were artisans. In particular, it can be seen from the inscription on the palace of Darius I in Susa that the Persians, in contrast to the Babylonians, Ionians, etc., did not take part in the construction of this palace. Obviously, in Persepolis comparable work was performed by representatives of these and other peoples.

It can be seen from the Persepolis documents that the overwhelming majority of *kurtash* consisted of foreigners. It is interesting to note that there are no Arabs among the *kurtash*, although the Fortification texts mention several times Arab civil servants who were in the royal service. This can probably be explained by the fact that the Arabs were considered not as subjects, but as allies of the Persians (see below on p. 182).

The Achaemenids enslaved a series of provinces and cities when the population rebelled against Persian domination. For instance, Cyrus II ordered the selling into slavery of the coastal population that neighbored on Lydia (Herod. I, 156). Cambyses drove 6,000 Egyptian craftsmen into Asia in order to build palaces (Diod. I, 46, 4). Upon the order of Darius I, the residents of the city of Barca in northwestern Africa, the Milesians, and Athenians who had been taken prisoner, and inhabitants of the islands of Lemnos and Naxos as well as the tribe of Paeonians, were put into slavery and led away from the places of their residence. In particular, the people of Barca, in the words of Herodotus (IV, 203–4), received a village in Bactria, which still existed even at the time when the Father of History wrote his work [for more detail about these resettlements, see 218:151]. The Eretrians on the island of Euboea, who had resisted the Persian army, were evicted in the year 490 B.C. into the region around Arderikka near Susa [338:350ff]. Herodotus (VI, 119) writes that Darius I ordered them to settle on his own estate. There need be no doubt that these Eretrians had the same status as the *kurtash*, who are repeatedly mentioned in the Persepolis documents. The Jews who had risen up in rebellion against Artaxerxes III were resettled in Hyrcania. Diodorus (XVII, 69) and Curtius Rufus (V, 5) relate that when Alexander the Great approached Persepolis, 4,000 imprisoned Greek craftsmen came out to meet him (according to Diodorus, there were nearly 800 men). They were all mutilated in order to prevent them from escaping. Many had their feet or hands cut off; some were branded. However, those parts of the body which they needed to perform their work remained unharmed. It is obvious that these Greeks comprised part of the *kurtash*. Curtius (V, 4, 4) also tells about a warrior who was taken prisoner in Lydia and then worked as a shepherd in the environs of Persepolis. It can scarcely be doubted that this shepherd was one of the *kurtash* of the royal household. We should also note that in 345 B.C. some of the prisoners of war from the Phoenician city of Sidon, which had risen up in rebellion, were sent to Susa upon the orders of Artaxerxes III [*ABC*, p. 114]. It is obvious that these Phoenicians did not differ from the *kurtash* in terms of their status.

A substantial number of prisoners was sent to estates belonging to the Persian kings and nobles, while the remaining ones were settled on the land. The latter tended their independent households and paid taxes to the king. Obviously, part of the *kurtash* consisted of the people enslaved and forcibly driven away into Iran by the Achaemenids. It might also be mentioned that there were many foreigners, including even Cilicians, among the *garda* on the Egyptian estates of the satrap *Arshama*.[35] One of the letters of Arshama to Nehtihur, the steward of his estates, vividly describes the methods for capturing slaves. During the suppression of the rebellion in Egypt, the former steward took many *garda*, who were craftsmen from various places, as well as other goods, and appropriated them all to Arshama's property. Now, during a new insurrection in Lower Egypt, the stewards are concerned about the *garda* and the property of their masters and are seeking them from other places, But Nehtihur is doing nothing of the sort, although Arshama had already warned him to guard and increase the property of his master. Further on, Arshama orders Nehtihur to seize some *garda*, who are artisans, in large numbers, mark them with the brand of Arshama, and attach them to his estate, as was done by former stewards; otherwise, he would be subject to harsh punishment [*AD* 7; for more details, see 36:76ff]. This letter is apparently witness to the fact that the *garda* (or some of them) were slaves, inasmuch as they were branded and equated with other property. In another letter Arshama writes to Armapiya, the chief of the troop detachment in Egypt, that according to a report by his manager Psamshek, Armapiya and his troops are failing to obey Psamshek in questions of defending the interests of the master. Arshama therefore warns Armapiya that in matters connected with the defense and increase of his property, he must obey Psamshek, or otherwise be subject to punishment [*AD* 4]. Apparently, the detachment of troops subordinate to Armapiya had to help Psamshek steal people so that they could be included in Arshama's household.

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[35] *Cf. AD* 5, where the names of thirteen Cilicians (except for a few, they were all from Asia Minor) are mentioned among the *garda* of Arshama. Another letter (12) contains the orders of Arshama assigning five Cilicians to work under the Persian noble Warfish, as well as a reference to five others who, at the request of Warfish were previously sent from Egypt to Babylon. Finally, *AD* 6 mentions two Cilician slaves of Arshama who were temporarily quartered in Susa. Goetze has shown that Cilicia also functioned as a supplier of slaves for the Assyrians of later times [326:55]. *Cf.* also Xenophon (*Anab.* I, 2, 27), who mentions that the troops of Cyrus the Younger led many people out of Cilicia into slavery.

Some *garda* were placed on a perpetual allowance and could own a certain amount of property. According to one letter, Nehtihur unmercifully beat up *garda* who belonged to the Persian noble Warfish, took away their property, and also appropriated the wine and harvest yield from the estates of Warfish, which were situated in Papremis. Arshama orders his manager to make restitution immediately for all the damage done and to return to the *garda* all their property [*AD* 12]. All of this would combine to suggest that, as a result of the world-wide conquests of the Achaemenids, a sharp qualitative transformation occurred in the royal household and in the households of the Persian nobility from primitive patriarchal slavery to the intensive use of the labor of foreign workers in agriculture and also partly in crafts. Some of these aliens were exploited as slaves, while the remainder were exploited as semi-free people who were settled on royal land.

A substantial number of slaves who performed household work for the Achaemenids and Persian nobility (bakers, cooks, wine-waiters, eunuchs, etc.) were also recruited from among representatives of conquered peoples. For these purposes, Babylonia alone was obliged to supply 500 boys annually to the Persian king as taxes (see below, p. 185). A certain number of such slaves also were purchased by Persians on the slave market (Herod. VIII, 105).

The fact that the words *garda* and *kurtash* are different transcriptions of one and the same term suggests that the *kurtash* who worked in Persepolis were also slaves, inasmuch as the *garda* could be branded. Moreover, the word *garda* itself, as already remarked, means "domestic slave." It is also characteristic that *kurtash* women who were confined for childbirth received products free from the state warehouses. This clearly indicates that they were dependent people who had to stay in Iran and work in the royal economy, *i.e.*, that their status was hereditary. It has been noted above that the mothers of boys received twice the supplementary allowance of mothers of girls. From this fact, Hallock draws the completely

logical conclusion that the state had a material interest in increasing the male workforce [*PF*, p. 37].

With the passage of time, however, the word *kurtash* acquired the even broader meaning of "worker," and thus it usually precedes the determinative with its indication of the various specialties of the craftsmen.[36] This broadening of meaning can also explain the fact that even scribes, including those who were Persian, were included in the category of *kurtash*; these scribes could scarcely have been slaves. Furthermore, in the Aramaic glosses to the Fortification texts the word *kurtash* is rendered as *gbrn* – "men" [*PF*, pp. 717–18]. Thus, the *kurtash* were humble, anonymous people [*PF*, p. 718.]. Nevertheless, in terms of their composition and legal status the *kurtash* were not homogeneous. In all probability they included, besides slaves, a certain number of people, who were personally free, from the lower strata of Persian society. Furthermore, the *garda* in Babylonia made up a contingent of workers attached to the royal household and to the estates of the noble Persians. However, it is difficult to regard these workers as slaves. Rather, they were semi-free people.

Finally, we must also take into consideration the data from a number of Babylonian documents which testify to the fact that the Babylonians had to go to Elam for fulfillment of state corvée work. For instance, one Babylonian had to be sent off on his "turn of labor service in Elam" for the period of an entire year – from the month of Tebetu of the 9th year of the reign of Darius I to the end of Tebetu of the 10th year [Mich. 26]. This document provides additional material for determining the legal status of workers of the royal household in Elam and Persia (as noted above, workers were transferred from Susa to Persepolis and to other places as needs dictated), and enables us to suggest that a section of the *kurtash* consisted of free subjects of the state who served out their duty for an entire year in the royal household.[37] In this connection it is interesting to note the evidence of one document from the archives of Murashu, where a certain Shalammanu was named as "*garda* of the fourth year of King Darius" [UM 91; 420 B.C.]. What is apparently at issue here is the annual obligation which was performed by the *garda* in a certain location. We can also note that in a number of texts the status of the *kurtash* is defined by the word *rabbap*, which Hallock translates as "conscripted (people)" [*PF*, p. 34]. The meaning of *rabbap* is sufficiently well determined from the Akkadian and Old Persian versions of the Behistun inscription, where it

[36] *Cf.* PTTON p. 162. For the word *kurtash*, Gershevitch proposes the more general terms "individual" or "people" [298:141]. Hallock likewise considers that the *kurtash* were workers in the broadest sense, including craftsmen, servants, etc. [*PF*, p. 717].

[37] As is well known, inhabitants of many lands, some of whom returned home after completing their labor duties, had already been taking part in state building projects in pre-Achaemenid Babylonia (*e.g.* during the time of Nebuchadnezzar II). The prophet Jeremiah had already railed against the introduction by Jewish rulers of the practice of utilizing without remuneration the labor of free individuals for the construction of their splendid palaces (Jeremiah 22:13).

was translated by words with the meaning of "bound" (it concerns the enemies of Darius who were brought to him bound). In the Fortification texts this word apparently also has the meaning of "conscripted." For instance, document *PF* 1597 records the issue of flour for the *kurtash* whom a certain Mauparra had "conscripted" at the locality of Hidali. It is most likely that among such workers who were conscripted to certain places, there were both slaves, whose status was hereditary, and free subjects, who were performing a temporary duty. Document *PTT* 22 contains an order to the effect that the manager of the Persepolis treasury issue a certain sum of money to the Syrian *kurtash* "who were conscripted and now released" [*cf. PTT*, p. 122]. Apparently, the document is concerned with workers who had worked for a certain time in the royal household and were then released to go home.

It has been noted above that great changes gradually took place in the payment of the *kurtash*. The payment or rations which workers received under Darius I were extremely small. These rations were sufficient for subsistence, but it is not likely that large surpluses remained among the workers. We do not know how much an adult hired worker, say, in Cappadocia or in Thrace could earn on average, or whether he could voluntarily set out for Iran to work in the royal household for one liter of grain a day or for even less. But the Egyptians, Babylonians and representatives of other economically developed countries of the Near East would hardly have set out voluntarily for a foreign land to work for such a wage. For instance, in Babylonia during the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., an adult hired hand would earn nearly 6 liters of grain on average per day, *i.e.*, six times as much as the *kurtash* were paid. It is clear that the Babylonians, Egyptians and representatives of some other peoples mentioned in the Fortification texts were not in Iran of their own free will to earn money, but were led off there by force and exploited by direct coercion, regardless of whether they were there only temporarily or for their entire lives.

Later, the situation changed. It has been mentioned above that the *kurtash* were a mixed category, including a significant number of slaves who were prisoners of war, a certain number of free people who voluntarily worked for wages (*e.g.* shepherds), and also individuals who were temporarily working off their labor service. Judging by the texts that have been preserved, the administrative apparatus, from the time of Xerxes onwards, started to treat all these groups of *kurtash* as enjoying equal rights in economic terms. They were not all exploited as slaves (although the *kurtash*, of course, could not leave work, except possibly for those who were free hired hands), *i.e.*, they received wages in accordance with the work they performed and regardless of their social status. Already, by the end of the reign of Darius I, a portion of the *kurtash* had begun to receive payment for their work not only in kind, but also in money. Under Xerxes such a practice began to penetrate deep into social life, while the wage rates became much higher than under Darius I, ranging from 1 to 8 *shekels* of silver a month. A majority of *kurtash* received 3 to 4 *shekels* of silver per month. This was three to four times more than what was paid in Babylonia at that time to a skilled adult hired worker, who on average received one *shekel* of silver a month. Moreover, the prices for food products in Babylonia and Iran of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. were roughly the same. It should be kept in mind that in addition to the previously mentioned monetary payment, the *kurtash* still received food, and thus they did not often need to resort to the market. In any case, it is possible to disregard the payment in kind to the *kurtash* when making a comparison with the status of hired hands in Babylonia, since employers fed the Babylonian hired hands during the course of the period for which they were hired.

Thus, substantial changes occurred in the methods of administration of the work personnel of the royal economy under Xerxes (and to some extent as early as the end of the reign of Darius I). The employees of the royal economy began to be paid a relatively high wage, which was several times higher than in the free labor market in neighboring countries. The Persepolis workers thus had a special status, since they were building royal palaces and since many of them were skilled craftsmen. It is obvious that this system created a vested interest on the part of the workers in the quality and quantity of work and in the results of their labor, and thus made the royal economy more efficient. As far as the "dumping" of wages of part of the labor of the *kurtash* is concerned, the administration of the royal economy could tolerate this by virtue of the huge funds collected as tribute from conquered peoples.

Surpluses of food products (*e.g.* wine or beer, which frequently comprised half of the rations or wages expended) arose among many *kurtash*. It was necessary to sell these surpluses on the open market in order to buy necessary items (clothing, shoes, etc.); however, a large portion of these surpluses reverted to the royal economy, whose administrative apparatus was always in a position to pay for them. Such a practice was very profitable for the royal economy, which had at its disposal money and large reserves of food; not having competitors, it could dictate prices that were advantageous to it. Pseudo-Aristotle describes these methods of the royal economy in his work *Oeconomica* [see Altheim and Cameron: 118:192ff; PTTON, p. 172].

Royal craftsmen's workshops were also located in other countries besides Iran. In Susa there were workshops for the production of weapons (arrowheads, spears), vessels and clothing; these workshops apparently date to early Achaemenid times [104:87ff]. State workshops ("the house of ships"), were situated in the Egyptian city of Memphis, where they built and repaired military vessels [A–G, pp. 13ff]. Craftsmen from various countries worked in these workshops. Aramaic documents from Elephantine mention "royal architects" [*AP* 15, *et al.*]. It can be seen from Babylonian documents of the same period that royal craftsmen (carpenters, builders, beer brewers, etc.) were accommodated on lands allotted to them from the state land fund, and that they collectively paid royal tributes and fulfilled their corvée service for the right to use this land. The assumption repeatedly expressed in the literature on the existence in Achaemenid Babylonia, or even in earlier periods, of autonomous closed corporations of craftsmen – which consisted of a certain number of members and which had set up for themselves the goal of monopolizing this or that branch of a craft – contradicts the data from the sources. Organizations of craftsmen existed, but they were under the complete control of the royal administration.

As is commonly known, a large number of broken alabaster vases, many bearing inscriptions, has been discovered in Susa and Persepolis. Six of the vases have inscriptions in the Egyptian language with the following epithet for Darius II: "King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the double crown, Darius, who lives eternally" [575:138]. There are 35 inscriptions containing titles for Xerxes, Artaxerxes I and Artaxerxes III, set not only with Egyptian hieroglyphs, but also with cuneiform in the Old Persian, Elamite and Akkadian languages (for instance "Xerxes, the Great King," is, in the Egyptian variant, "Xerxes, the Great Pharaoh"). One such vase, with a quadrilingual inscription containing titles for Artaxerxes I, was even found in the USSR near Orsk. Posener holds that all these vases, which comprise a portion of the royal dishware, were manufactured in Egypt [575:137–51, 190; *cf.* 296:152; 627, 2:88]. Apparently, state workshops that produced dishware for the requirements of the royal court existed in Egypt.

Workshops for the manufacture of royal vessels were also situated in Babylon, to the south of the royal palace. There, archaeologists have excavated, besides the smashed alabaster vessels, a large number of rooms, in each of which a separate crew of craftsmen headed by a superior worked [436, 1:12ff, 65]. It is possible that the vessels found in Uruk with the inscriptions of the Persian kings were likewise manufactured in these Babylonian workshops [648:41, Table 54; *cf.* 686:158]. Finally, judging by the Aramaic inscriptions discovered in Persepolis, there were also workshops in Arachosia, where vessels were manufactured for the court of the Persian rulers (this fact has been established by Livshits). It appears that these workshops included free craftsmen, who were paid for their labor or who were fulfilling state labor service for a certain period of time.

As we have seen above, a decisive transformation occurred in Achaemenid Iran, from primitive patriarchal slavery to an intensive use of the labor of foreign slaves on estates and in the craftsmen's workshops that belonged to the Persian king. But on the scale of all of Iran as an entirety and of the empire as a whole, there were relatively few slaves (when compared with free individuals), while free people remained the basic workers both in agriculture and in the crafts.

Western scholars usually think that feudalism was the social structure in ancient Iran and that there was no essential difference in the social structure of Persia of the Achaemenid, Parthian and Sasanid periods [see for instance 537:93; 195:8; 181:110ff; 723:12ff; 212:327ff]. It is the opinion of these scholars that the Achaemenid kings, by creating military colonies in the conquered countries and by distributing land allotments to their civilian and military servants, had promoted the development of feudalism. Thus, feudalism is regarded in Western scholarship not as a distinct socio-economic formation: any society is considered feudal where political decentralization or a hierarchical dependence of subjects is observed. Many Western Orientalists have held that feudal relations prevailed throughout the ancient East and that the social basis of society remained constant throughout the entirety of ancient history; thus, it is possible to find precedents in earlier periods for any political and social process of a later time. But such an opinion blatantly contradicts the data of the many thousands of documents from Achaemenid times that testify to great social changes and, in particular, to radical transformations in agrarian relations that occurred in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.

F STATE TAXES AND CORVÉE OBLIGATIONS

According to Herodotus (III, 89), taxes were first assessed in the Persian empire under Darius I; earlier, under Cyrus II and Cambyses, subjects had been obliged only to deliver gifts. However, scholars have already noted that state taxes had existed as early as the time of Cyrus [511, 3:37ff; 259:92–6], a fact which can be determined simply by the report of Herodotus that Gaumata, whom Darius overthrew, rescinded taxes for three years. The same conclusion also emerges from the Babylonian Cylinder of Cyrus (line 30), from various places in the History of Herodotus himself,[38] from the Behistun Inscription (I, 19), from the statements of Plato (*Leg.* III, 695c), from Xenophon (*Cyrop.* VII, 4, 2; VIII, 1, 9), from Arrian (*Ind.* I, 8) and from other sources. Moreover, it is difficult to accept *a priori* that taxes had not been levied in the Persian empire before Darius I, while, at the same time, the collection of taxes from conquered peoples formed a most important component of the royal administration among the Babylonians, Assyrians and Medes.

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[38] See, for instance, VII, 51, where it says that Cyrus II forced all of Ionia to pay tribute to the Persians. See also Herodotus III, 13; IV, 165.

But there was still no firmly regulated system of taxes under Cyrus and Cambyses that was founded on the calculation of the economic capabilities of the countries that made up the Achaemenid empire. The subject peoples delivered gifts or even paid taxes which were at least partially paid in kind (*cf.* Herod. III, 90 and 94 and 97). In other words, people who did not pay taxes had to deliver gifts, and vice versa. In practice this system led to heavy requisitions. It is a well-known fact, for instance, that Cambyses graciously accepted the gifts of the Libyans, but was dissatisfied with the gifts of the inhabitants of Cyrene (500 *mina* of silver), which he considered insufficient, distributing them to his troops (Herod. III, 13). Darius declares in the Behistun Inscription (I, 17–20) that the countries of the Persian empire brought him tribute: "What I said to them, whether by night or whether by day – that was done."

In *c.* 519 B.C. Darius established a new system of state taxes. The land was precisely measured in *parasangs* and classified according to crops cultivated or even according to the size of the harvest (Herod. VI, 42). All the satrapies were obliged to pay taxes in silver; these taxes had been strictly set for each province and established on the basis of the cultivated land and its fertility, as calculated by the average harvest yield for several years in accordance with the cadastres for individual provinces [*cf.*, for instance, 259:97ff]. We have examples of such cadastral documents from Babylonia, which contain the number of fruit trees, the kinds of crops and the extent of arable land. To judge from Herodotus (III, 89), this reform was introduced at the beginning of Darius's rule, after he had quelled the revolts which occurred in 522–521 B.C. Since the earliest of Babylonian cadastral texts are dated to the 3rd year of Darius I, this reform should be dated *c* 519 B.C. [223c].

In order to designate tribute the Behistun and other Achaemenid inscriptions use the Old Persian word *bazi*; this word corresponds to the term *mandattu* (from the verb *nadānu* – "to give") in the Akkadian versions of these inscriptions. In the Fortification tablets taxes are designated by the word *baziš* [*PF* 267, etc.], borrowed from the Iranian, while the tax-gatherer is called *bazikara*. The Book of Ezra (4:20; 6:8) designates taxes for the Persian king with the word *mdt*, which corresponds to the Akkadian *mandattu*. The Iranian word *barra* (from the root *bar* – "to carry, bring") is also quite frequently used in the Akkadian texts of Achaemenid times alongside *mandattu*, with that same meaning. But in the fifth century B.C. the word *ilku*, which initially had the meaning of "service from the land" and which continued to retain this meaning even in the first millennium B.C., is used most frequently of all in Babylonia to designate royal taxes from the land. Such a widespread usage of this term can be explained by the fact that the military obligations of the royal colonists in the fifth century B.C. were usually replaced by taxes, whereas they continued to use the same word *ilku*, which gradually began to supplant the term *mandattu*, to designate the duties of these colonists in respect to the state. In the Aramaic endorsements to the Babylonian documents, the word *halāk*, which is also encountered in the Book of Ezra (4:13, 20; 7:24) to designate taxes [228:67 and 151], corresponds to the Akkadian *ilku*. From the Aramaic, this word was borrowed through the middle Persian *xarāg* by the Arabic language in the form of *harāğ* with the meaning of "land tax" [353:291–3].

The terms *middā* and *belō* – the first with the meaning of "monetary tax" in accordance with the size of the land, and the second with the meaning of "tax in kind" [446:90] – are also encountered in the Book of Ezra (4:13, 20) to designate tribute to the Persian king.

Thus, as far as the Persians themselves were concerned, they were, according to Herodotus (III, 97), the ruling people, exempt from taxes. However, it is difficult to accept that statement without reservation, although there are no Persians among the tributaries on the Persepolis reliefs. Apparently, the Persians did not pay monetary taxes but were not exempt from taxes in kind [*cf.* 465:206]. In any case, upon the passage of troops through the territory of Persia the inhabitants had to concern themselves with the maintenance of the troops. Moreover, many Persians presented gifts to the king which, in principle, were regarded as voluntary. Aelianus (*Var.* I, 31) wrote that when the king passed in front of their houses, the Persians gave him a bull, sheep, bread, wine, dates, fruit, etc. according to their custom and income.

The Fortification tablets contain some information on the collection of taxes in southwestern Iran during the reign of Darius I. Some texts record the receipt of small livestock and grain that had been turned over as state taxes. For instance, during the 22nd and 23rd years of the reign of Darius I, two collectors of assessments accepted 7,410 *bar* of barley [*PF* 443, 451, 567]. In the eighteenth and nineteenth years of the reign of Darius I, various tax-payers, who were listed by name, turned over to a certain shepherd 642 head of small livestock [*PF* 2025 and 2070]. Several civil servants reported to Pharnaces, the manager of the royal economy, that they had handed over sheep, which had been received as a tax, to Umizza, who was a shepherd of the king and the son of Halpa and who lived in the town of Hiran [*PF* 2070]. Further on, a certain shepherd is entrusted with 553 sheep and 41 goats that were received as a "royal tax" [*PF* 2025]. Wine is also mentioned as being taxed, though cattle are not. The Persepolis documents testify to the fact that Persia was not exempt from taxes in kind [*cf.* Hinz: 384:289–92].

The peoples subject to the Persians, including also the inhabitants of autonomous states (Cilicians, Phoenicians, Paphlagonians, etc.), paid in all *c.*7,740 Babylonian *talents* of silver (232,200 kg) a year, not counting the Indian satrapy, which contributed an assessment in the form of gold dust (Herod. III, 90–4). If the specific figures cited by Herodotus are reliable, then the total sum, when the gold received as tribute is calculated in terms of silver, amounted to 14,560 Euboic *talents* (1 Euboic *talent* = 25.86 kg) [*cf.* 711:490]. A large part of this sum was paid by peoples of the countries that were more developed economically: Asia Minor, Babylonia, Syria, Phoenicia and Egypt.

Although the system of gifts was also retained, these were in no way voluntary. The gifts, just like the taxes, were strictly regulated and were called gifts, rather euphemistically, inasmuch as their size was precisely determined. But in contrast to taxes, gifts were paid in kind. The dominant majority of subjects paid taxes, whereas gifts were delivered only by peoples who lived on the borders of the empire (Colchians, Ethiopians, Arabs, some Saka tribes, etc.) (Herod. III, 97). In other words, the reforms of Darius gave preference to taxes over gifts.

According to a statement by Herodotus, gifts had to be brought to the Persian king only by those tribes who were exempt from monetary taxes. But the peoples who paid monetary taxes were not fully free from the delivery of agricultural products and craft items from their own countries (horses, fruit, wine, gold and silver objects, etc.), although these gifts could be timed to coincide with certain important events. For instance, the Persepolis reliefs depict representatives of all the peoples who were subject to the Achaemenids; they are leading various animals or carrying diverse vessels. The majority of scholars believe that these reliefs depict the delivery of gifts or tribute in kind to the Persian king on the occasion of the New Year's holiday (but *cf.* below, p. 255).

According to a document from Babylonia, in 522 B.C. a resident of this country hired a worker for 40 days to fatten up three bulls destined as a gift (*nāmurtu*; possibly this refers to a certain tax) to Darius I [Pohl II, 10]. According to another text, it was proposed to make a "gift to the king" from the privately-owned orchard of a Babylonian [*BIN*, Vol. 1, 70]. When Artaxerxes II arrived in Ur in 399 B.C., the priests of the local temple hired two boys to carry gifts (*bari* – "tax"?) to the king on the occasion of his arrival in the city [*UET*, Vol. 4, 48 and 49]. Athenaeus (*Deipnosoph.* IV, 145F) writes with reference to the Greek historian Theopompus: "Each time the Great King[39] arrived in any of the countries subject to him, its inhabitants would gather 20 or 30, or often even more, *talents* for dinner, for, since days of yore, both an assessment and the expenditures for the (royal) dinner have been set for each city in proportion to its population."

Pseudo-Aristotle (*Oec.* II, 3–5) reports that the Persian king received not only silver from the satraps, but also taxes in kind. According to Xenophon (*Anab.* I, 9, 22), the satrap of Asia Minor, Cyrus the Younger, received gifts (golden adornments, wine, etc.) from his subjects "for various reasons." The following statement of Theopompus is of even greater interest: "All the products of nature and craft items extant in the Persian state are delivered to the king in the form of gifts: carpets; clothing; tents; furniture of artistic workmanship; gold and silver vessels; an innumerable quantity of weapons; also, pack animals and cattle to be slaughtered; even spices; silk; cotton fabrics; and, in general, everything for which any use whatsoever could be found" [FGrH, Vol. 2, pp. 526–7, fragment 125].

When Alexander the Great seized Persepolis, golden bowls and goblets alone worth 73 Babylonian *talents* (more than two tons) fell into his hands. Curtius Rufus (V, 6, 5) also mentions stone vessels of fine workmanship in this connection. Most likely, all these vessels had been delivered to Persepolis at different times as taxes or as gifts [*cf.* 538:125]. One Greek vase depicts the chief of the treasury house of the Persian king; this official is accepting three bowls of fine workmanship [538:125, note]. The Achaemenids would often give such vessels and other valuable objects to their own high officials and foreign ambassadors [*cf.* 538:125]. For instance, according to Aelianus (*Var.* I, 22), the Persian king gave a silver Babylonian *talent* in minted coinage to each of the Greek ambassadors who came before him, as well as two silver vessels each worth one *talent*, bracelets, a Persian sword, a pectoral chain worth 1,000 *darics*, and Median clothing. According to Xenophon (*Anab.* I, 2, 27), the Persian kings usually gave a horse with a golden bridle, a golden torque, a bracelet, a golden *akinakes* and Persian clothing to their high officials when they wished to distinguish them. Athenaeus (*Deipnosoph.* II, 48D–49A) mentions among the gifts from Artaxerxes II to a certain Greek a tent of exceptional dimensions and beauty, a bed with silver legs, a silver throne, a gilded parasol, golden saucers adorned with diamonds, silver trays and goblets, tables with legs made from ivory, and Persian carpets with artistic images depicted on them.

The facts cited above show that, the statement of Herodotus notwithstanding, only a part of the annual tribute to the Persian king was paid in non-minted metal, while the remaining portion was paid in weapons, precious vessels, livestock, etc. [*cf.* 538:125, note 23]. Herodotus himself notes that Egypt and Babylonia were obliged, above and beyond their monetary tax obligations, to allot a substantial quantity of grain for supplying foodstuffs to the troops who were quartered in these countries, while the Babylonians, besides this, supplied the royal court with eunuchs (see below). Xenophon (*Oec.* IV, 5–7) writes that the governors of the provinces delivered provisions to the garrison situated in the given country, and that the king established the amount of foodstuffs which each country assessed with taxes had to allot for the maintenance of the soldiers.

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[39] The usual title for the Persian kings among the Greek authors.

According to Arrian, the tribe of Ariaspai, which lived on the southern border of Drangiana and supplied Cyrus II with foodstuffs during his campaign, was rewarded with the title of "royal benefactors" and was exempted from the payment of taxes (*cf.* above p. 138). But, in all probability, the Ariaspai were obliged to deliver gifts to the Persian king.

For the assistance given to the army of Cambyses during the crossing of the Sinai Desert at the time of the campaign against Egypt, the Arabs were rewarded with the title of "allies of the Persian king," and hence, if one is to believe the Greek authors, they were not considered to be subjects. Herodotus (III, 88) writes that the Arabs were never under the yoke of the Persians, while, according to the words of Diodorus (II, 1, 5), there was not a single Persian king who was in a position to enslave these tribes. But it is very likely that this is not totally true, and that the Achaemenids, in contrast to the Assyrian kings, did not make fruitless attempts to conquer the vast arid expanses in which the Arabs lived.

As allies, the Arabs had to deliver annually 1,000 *talents* of frankincense as gifts to the Persian king (Herod. III, 97). But the Arabs could pay that much frankincense only if they controlled the transit trade in the region of the Hadramaut and the Gulf of Aqaba. Arabia is included in the Behistun Inscription among the countries subject to Darius I, but it is difficult to say with complete confidence which specific province is referred to here. In his list of the contingents of the Persian army, Herodotus (VII, 69) mentions Arabs alongside tribes that lived near the borders of Egypt. Hence, scholars usually locate the Arabs between the Nile and Red Sea, assuming that the Persians called the nomadic tribes to the south and east of Palestine Arabs [582, note to Herod II, 8; 393, 1:280]. In Olmstead's opinion, the Persians under Darius I made an unsuccessful attempt to unite the Nabatean Arabs in a satrapy under the name Arabaya [547:56]. Leuze thinks that the Arabia of the Behistun Inscription is identical with Syria in the broad sense, or in any case, included Syria [465:166, note 1]. Marquart, Herzfeld and some other scholars likewise identified the Arabia of the Behistun Inscription with Syria [371:306; 641:146, note 117]. However, such an assumption is contradicted to some extent by the fact that in one inscription of Darius I (DSf) "Ebir-Nari" (the area "Across the River") corresponds to the "Assyria" (*Athurā*) of the Old Persian version in Akkadian, and this is supported by Nöldeke's view that the Greek name "Syria" is an abbreviated form taken from "Assyria."

Dougherty contends that the Persian geographical concept of "Arabia" did not include the entire Arabian Peninsula, but only its southern portion, and that it was only the Greek authors who began to use this name for the entire peninsula [236:121, *ibid.*, bibliography; *cf.* 641:149, note 123]. In the Assyrian and Babylonian sources, the name for the Arab tribes (*aribi/arubu/arabu*; *cf.* the Biblical *arab* in the Book of Jeremiah, 25:24) was first attested around the year 600 B.C., when it was still not used to designate the Arabian Peninsula [200:206; see now in detail 272a].

A list of the taxes and gifts from the satrapies according to data from Herodotus (III, 90–4) is given below, with additional information derived from other sources (chiefly from depictions of tributaries on the Persepolis reliefs) [*cf.* 35:344–6; 119:109ff; 184:123–6; *cf.* the excellent photographs of the Persepolis reliefs: 627, 1:95ff; 706:42ff, 68ff].

1 Ionia (the satrapy included Ionia proper, Aeolis, Caria, Lycia and Pamphylia) – 400 *talents* of silver. The Ionians are depicted on the Persepolis reliefs in twelfth place, carrying some kind of bowls and skeins of woolen clothing. The city of Assos in Aeolis selected wheat for the table of the Persian king (Strabo, XV, 3, 22).

Besides Ionia, the Achaemenid inscriptions also mention "Ionians who dwell by the sea," "Ionians–*takabara*" (in the Akkadian variant of inscription DNa this expression has been translated as "Ionians who wear shields on the head"; *cf.* [487:84–6]), and "Ionians who dwell beyond the sea." In referring to the latter the writer obviously had in mind mainland Greeks, some of whom were subjugated during Xerxes's campaign in the Balkan Peninsula. There have been disagreements among scholars concerning where to locate "the Ionians who dwell by the sea"; many have assumed that it refers to the residents of the islands of the Aegean Sea and of Cyprus [629:523ff]. Schmitt found in the so-called sixteenth letter of Themistocles [published by Hercher, p. 755] an expression corresponding to the Old Persian "those who dwell by the sea" and also the expression "the satrap of the king who was over the peoples of the sea," and showed that the location of "the Ionians who dwell by the sea" must be situated on the Propontis, *i.e.* in the Daskyleion satrapy [629:524ff].

The Assyrians, Babylonians and Persians clashed first and foremost with the Ionians, among the Greek peoples, and hence they called the Greeks "Yavanu", *i.e.* Ionians. The name "Yavan" is used in the Bible both for Ionia and for Greece as a whole. Nylander notes that the terms "Ionians" and "Ionia" were often administrative concepts for a definite region and its inhabitants, regardless of which ethnic or cultural group they belonged to. Thus, for the scribes of the Persian chancellory, the word "Ionian" could designate an inhabitant of Western Asia Minor, but not necessarily a Greek [540:18, note 39]. The cuneiform documents from the time of Nebuchadnezzar II more than once mention "Ionian" craftsmen who worked in Babylon

[Weidner, pp. 933ff]. However, all of these craftsmen bear Luvian, not Greek, names, as, for instance, "Kunzumpiya from the country of Ionia" [326:54]. Thus the name "Ionia" is used in ancient Eastern texts more in a geographical than in an ethnic sense, or to designate a Greek without specifying whether he belonged to this or that tribe [586:26].

2 Lydia (Lydia proper and Mysia) – 500 *talents* of silver. The Lydians were depicted in Persepolis in sixth place, with vases, goblets, bracelets, and also with a chariot with horses harnessed to it.

3 Phrygia (Phrygia proper, the Hellespont, Bithynia, Paphlagonia, and Cappadocia) – 360 *talents*. The Cappadocians were depicted in Persepolis in ninth place with cloaks and a large horse. According to Strabo (XI, 13, 8), in addition to a monetary tax, Cappadocia delivered 1,500 horses, 2,000 mules and 50,000 sheep annually to the Persian king. According to Arrian (I, 26, 3 and I, 27, 4), the inhabitants of the city of Aspendos, which was situated in this satrapy, bred horses for the Persian king.

4 Cilicia – 360 *talents*. Moreover, this satrapy was obliged to deliver 360 white horses annually and to allot 140 *talents* of silver for the maintenance of the royal cavalry that was quartered in Cilicia. The Cilicians on the Persepolis reliefs are carrying vessels, hides and clothing and are leading rams.

5 The area "Across the River" (Syria, Palestine, Phoenicia and Cyprus) – 350 *talents*. Obviously, a large part of this sum was paid by the Phoenician cities, which were engaged in international trade. Hundreds of vessels from the fourth century B.C. with the inscription *Yhwd* ("Judah") have been preserved from Judah, which was part of this satrapy. Among them are to be found 108 impressions of official stamps of tax-collectors in Judah. Some of these stamps contain the name of the governor of the province: "Judah, Yehoʿezer, the governor" [110:105ff]. Special varieties of wine were supplied from the town of Chalybon near Damascus (Syria) to the Persian king (Strabo, XV, 3, 22).

6 Egypt (Egypt proper, Libya, Cyrene and Barca) – 700 *talents*. In addition, the Egyptians annually delivered 120,000 *medimnoi* (1 *medimnus* = 52.53 liters) of bread for the maintenance of the garrison troops quartered in this country (Herod. III, 91). It can be seen from the Aramaic papyri that the inhabitants of southern Egypt were obliged to supply the Persian garrison on the Elephantine with provisions. For instance, a receipt from 484 B.C. has been preserved, according to which two individuals received from an Egyptian boatman 55 measures of barley and beans for 200 soldiers of the Elephantine garrison.

Furthermore, the Persian king received income from fish caught on Lake Moeris – during the course of the half-year at the time of the rising tide the king received one *talent* of silver per day, while for the rest of the time he received 20 *mina* daily (Herod. II, 149; Diod. I, 52). According to Dinon, the Egyptians regularly supplied salt to the table of the Persian king and also water from the Nile [*FHG*, Vol. 2, p. 92, fragment 15]. According to Athenaeus (*Deipnosoph*. I, 60), the Egyptian city of Anthylla provided the shoes and wardrobe for the Persian queen. The Egyptians were depicted in Persepolis in tenth place with pieces of fabric and with a bull. The Libyans were depicted in 22nd place, leading a kudu and a horse-drawn chariot.

7 Sattagydia, Gandara and Arachosia – 170 *talents*. The Arachosians occupy seventh place in Persepolis. They are carrying bowls and are leading a camel. Aramaic inscriptions from Persepolis also testify to the delivery of bowls from Arachosia. The people from Gandara are located in fourteenth place and are bearing spears and leading a zebu.

8 Elam – 300 *talents*. The Elamite tributaries are depicted in second place in Persepolis, carrying daggers in sheaths and bows. They are also leading a lioness and carrying two young lions. We note that they delivered water to the Persian king from the Choaspes river in Elam, which was considered to be the lightest. They boiled this water, poured it into silver vessels, and transported it everywhere behind the kings (Herod. I, 188).

9 Babylonia (including the territory of the former Assyria) – 1,000 *talents* (the largest sum paid by one satrapy). In addition, the Babylonians annually sent 500 boys as eunuchs to the court of the Persian king (Herod. III, 92). According to Herodotus (I, 192), besides paying a monetary assessment, Babylonia was obliged to maintain the troops quartered in the country and to supply the king and his court with foodstuffs over a period of four months each year. Xenophon (*Anab*. III, 4, 31) relates that wheat flour, wine and barley were gathered in the Babylonian villages in large amounts in order to supply the satrap. The Babylonians are depicted in fifth place in Persepolis, carrying woven clothing, vases and various vessels. They are also leading a zebu.

Herodotus (III, 160) writes that Darius I transferred Babylon to the administration of the Persian Zopyros without assessing it with taxes, which, of course, cannot correspond to reality and contradicts other data contained in the works of the Father of History himself. Similarly, it is highly unlikely that there is any truth in the assertion of Ctesias to the effect that Tanyoxarkes, the younger son of Cyrus II, possessed several Central Asian provinces, which were supposedly exempted from the payment of assessments to the central governmment [text: Gilmore, paragraph 39].

There are some disagreements in the literature on the subject concerning the assignment of Assyria to the IXth satrapy. The Old Persian inscriptions mention Babylonia and Assyria as separate countries, but, as has been pointed out above, in the Akkadian version of inscription DSf, Ebir-Nāri (the area "Across the River"), *i.e.* Syria, corresponds to the Persian and Elamite *Athurā* ("Assyria"). Consequently, in the official usage of the Persian chancellory the name "Assyria" applied to Syria. After the downfall of the Assyrian empire its basic territory was included within Media, while its actual name was gradually transferred to Syria. This can be explained by the fact that the last remnants of the Assyrian army retreated to the territory of Syria, where they suffered a decisive defeat. Usually the Greek authors, following the Persians, called Syria "Assyria." However Herodotus does not make a distinction between Assyria and Babylonia and calls Babylon the capital of the Assyrians, and sometimes even calls the Babylonians themselves "Assyrians" [see, for instance, Herod. III, 155; *cf.* 439:4; 591:3, note 1).

10 Media (according to Herodotus, this satrapy also included the tribes of the Parikanioi and Orthokorybantioi) – 450 *talents*. According to Strabo (XI, 13, 7), there were 50,000 mares destined for the Persian king pastured on the Nesaean plain in Media (*cf.*, Herod. VII, 40). Arrian (VII, 13, 1) writes that the Nesaean plain in Media was set aside for royal mares. According to Diodorus (XVII, 110, 6), at one time as many as 160,000 horses belonging to the Persian king grazed in Media, but when Alexander the Great arrived, there was a total of 60,000 horses.

One document in the Akkadian language, found in Persepolis, which was drawn up in 501 B.C., mentions "the tax of the Median Pattemidu, son of the shepherd," who paid a large sum of silver [*PTT* 85]. The Medes are depicted in first place on the Persepolis reliefs, carrying cups, jugs, a Median sword and clothing.

According to Xenophon (*Cyrop.* VIII, 7, 11), under Cyrus II Media – along with Armenia and the tribe of the Cadusians – constituted a single satrapy. Herodotus's statement that the Orthokorybantioi (*i.e.* Sakai–Tigrakhauda) were part of the Median satrapy is doubtful, since Parthia and Hyrcania were located between Media and the Orthokorybantioi [*cf.* 409:44, where it is noted that Herodotus sometimes includes one and the same people in two different satrapies; Kiessling holds that Herodotus was right in attributing the Orthokorybantioi to the Median satrapy: 429:51ff].

11 The tribes of the Caspians, Pausikai, Pantimathoi and Dareitai – 200 *talents*.

12 Bactria – 360 *talents*. The Bactrians are depicted in fifteenth place in Persepolis, carrying vessels and leading two-humped (Bactrian) camels.

13 Armenia and its neighbors – 400 *talents*. According to Strabo (XI, 14, 9), the Armenian satrap annually sent 20,000 foals to the Persian king on the occasion of the celebration of the festival of the god Mithra. According to Xenophon (*Anab.* IV, 5, 24 and 34), foals that were destined to be sent to Persia as a tax were fattened in Armenian villages. The Armenians occupy third place among the Persepolis tributaries, and are leading a horse and carrying a large vessel.

14 Drangiana (in addition to the Drangianians themselves, the satrapy also included the Sarangai, Sagartians, Thamanaioi, Outioi, Mykoi and inhabitants of the islands of the Persian Gulf) – 600 *talents*. The Drangianians are depicted in 21st place in Persepolis, leading a bull, while the Sagartians are in sixteenth place with clothing and a horse.

15 The Sakai – 250 *talents*. The Sakai appear with pointed caps in eleventh place in Persepolis. They are leading a horse and carrying clothing.

16 Parthia, Choresm, Sogdiana and Areia (Haraìva, *i.e.* the tribe of the Areioi) – 300 *talents*. The Areioi occupy fourth place among the Persepolis tributaries and are carrying cups, hides and wineskins and leading a camel. The Sogdians were depicted in eighth place with goblets and two camels. The Parthians, who are in thirteenth place, carry goblets and are leading a two-humped camel, while the Choresmians appear in seventeenth place with a sword, bracelets and horses.

17 The Parikanioi and Ethiopians of Asia (Gedrosia and Makran) – 400 *talents*.

18 The Matienoi, Saspeires and Alarodioi – 200 *talents*.

19 The Moschoi, Tibarenoi, Makrones, Mossynoikoi and Mares – 300 *talents*.

20 India (the valley of the Indus River) – 360 *talents* of gold dust. But in Tarn's opinion the Indian satrapy was never able to pay such an immense sum [668:108]. The Indians occupy eighteenth place in Persepolis; they are carrying baskets and leading a donkey.

The Arabs and some other tribes were not included in Herodotus's list, since they did not pay monetary assessments. The Arabs in Persepolis are carrying fabrics and are leading a dromedary. Herodotus (III, 97) also writes that every three years the Ethiopians delivered as a gift to the Persian king two *choinikes* (approximately 2.2 liters) of native gold, 200 trunks of ebony wood, 20 elephant tusks and five boys. The Ethiopians were depicted in 23rd place in Persepolis, with elephant tusks. They are also leading an okapi. The Libyans appear alongside the Ethiopians, with spears, a vehicle with two horses harnessed to it, and an antelope. According to Herodotus (III, 97), the Colchians and their neighbors every five years sent 100 girls and 100 boys to the Persian king [*cf.*, 210a:78–9].

Having enumerated all 20 satrapies, Herodotus (III, 96) writes that the Persians later (after the reforms of Darius) also subjugated the Greek islands and the European peoples up to the Thessalians and began to collect assessments from them. Of these peoples, the Thracians, who are leading a horse, are depicted in nineteenth place on the Persepolis reliefs. Alongside them are the Macedonians, who are carrying spears and shields and are leading a horse.

The countries that lacked their own mines (for instance Babylonia, whose alluvial soil contained almost no useful minerals whatsoever) had to obtain silver from other provinces by means of the sale of agricultural and craft products, which, in turn, promoted the development of commodity–money relations in order to pay their assessments. Apparently, a tenth share of one's income, which was considered "the king's portion," was paid as assessments.

The techniques for collecting state taxes are best known from documents from the archives of the business house of Murashu in Babylonia, among which are a large quantity of receipts of payment of assessments from the allotments granted by the king. The assessments were paid in silver and in kind (barley, flour, small livestock, beer, etc.).[40] After researching these documents, Cardascia notes the following theoretical and practical variants for the payment of taxes [195:189–98]:

1. The landowner himself paid assessments, not turning to the services of the house of Murashu (naturally, there is no data concerning such cases in the archives of Murashu). Thus, according to a document written in Nippur in 427 B.C., an owner of an allotment granted by the king paid 13.5 *shekels* of silver as his annual tax directly to two tax-collectors (Joannès, No. 2). As we see from the document Joannès No. 1, during the reign of Artaxerxes II 35 *mina*, 33.5 *shekels* of silver were paid as tax from fifteen allotments of bow. Among the owners of these allotments a weaver, a builder, an inspector of canals and some other persons are mentioned. The tax was paid directly to royal officials without appealing to the services of Murashu.
2. In those cases where the landowner was in need of money for the payment of taxes, he appealed to the house of Murashu with an entreaty to pay the assessment due from him. The house of Murashu would pay the respective assessment, while the debtor would hand over to the latter a promissory note for the sum paid.
3. The landowner who had, so to speak, a current account in the bank of Murashu asked his banker to pay the assessment for him.
4. In those cases where the land for which the owner was obliged to pay taxes was placed at the disposal of the house of Murashu as a mortgage for debt, the house of Murashu would pay the assessment for the owner of the land with the subsequent payment of this sum by the debtor.
5. When the land for which the owner was obliged to pay was rented out to the house of Murashu, the latter also paid the assessment for him along with the rental payment to the landowner.
6. When a landowner pawned an allotment or rented it out not to the house of Murashu, but to any other individual, the techniques for payment of the taxes were analogous to the preceding case.

Assessments basically remained unchanged from the same allotment during different years.

At the beginning of the twentieth century the German scholar Kotalla expressed the opinion that the members of the house of Murashu were not private individuals, but rather agents of the Persian king for the farming-out of taxes, and that the state collected taxes not directly from the populace, but with the help of tax-farmers. Kotalla suggested that Murashu paid taxes to the royal treasury beforehand, and then collected them from the tax-payers, as was later also done by the Roman tax-farmers who handled assessments. The fact that the house of Murashu would often pay taxes from lands which did not belong to it served as the basis for such a conclusion [444:553]. This opinion has been accepted by Struve, Meissner and many other scholars who felt that the handing over of taxes for farming out was practiced by the Achaemenids not only in Babylonia but also in other countries, which led to the ruin of the tax-payers (87:245–8; 498, 1:130; 216:300; 264:7, note 1). Struve provided arguments in support of his opinion, *viz.* the fact that Murashu inflicted violence and pillage on tax-payers. For instance, according to evidence from one document, an official Bagadata (an Iranian name, although his father bore the Babylonian name Bel-iddin) brought accusations against Ellil-shum-iddin from the house of Murashu, to the effect that the latter, along with his people, had destroyed several settlements, had even driven away the cattle and other livestock, and had also carried off gold and silver belonging to Bagadata himself. Although Ellil-shum-iddin denied these accusations, he paid Bagadata 350 *kur* of barley, one *kur* of spelt, 50 *kur* of wheat, 50 vats of beer of the highest quality, 200 *kur* of dates, 200 head of livestock, 20 head of cattle, and five *talents* of wool in order to avoid a trial [BE, Vol. 10, 9].

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[40] Herodotus states that, according to the reforms of Darius, taxes were generally paid in silver. It is possible that the tax status of fief land was somewhat different, and therefore the owners of such land were obliged to pay taxes in kind along with monetary assessments. Besides, as we have seen above, the subjects also contributed taxes in kind along with monetary taxes.

However in 1951, on the basis of a thorough analysis of the documents from the archives of Murashu, Cardascia rejected this opinion concerning the farming-out of taxes [195:189–98; see also 604:278–9]. The tax-farmers who handled the assessments collected taxes on behalf of the central authority, acquiring a monopoly from the state on the farming-out of taxes. They would pay the state a predetermined sum of assessments beforehand and only then would collect it from the tax-payers. It is true that the house of Murashu gradually concentrated into its own hands the payment of assessments for a substantial portion of central Babylonia, but the Persian administration did not in any way seek such a practice, and the house of Murashu paid taxes for other individuals only on a strictly legal basis upon the request of the tax-payers themselves. Moreover, they paid them not directly into the state treasury, but upon the issuing of the respective sums into the hands of the tax-payers, so that they themselves might pay the assessments to the treasury through their own supervisors or other intermediaries. Sometimes the house of Murashu handed over the sum requested for taxes to the supervisors of the tax-payers. In connection with this, Murashu received the money necessary for the payment of the assessments not from the tax-payers themselves, but by means of the sale of agricultural products by which the tax-payers would usually pay off their creditors. The house of Murashu would often pay assessments for the right to use land belonging to the tax-payer. Sometimes, if the assessment was not paid promptly, the chiefs of this or that district would put the land of the delinquent or insolvent tax-payers at the disposal of the house of Murashu, so that in the future the latter would regularly pay the taxes from these lands. Since it was necessary to pay taxes in silver, it was often necessary for landowners to borrow money from Murashu or other usurers by mortgaging their land, which in the final analysis led to the ruin of the tax-payers. However, Murashu or other businessmen similar to them did not perform the functions of tax-farmers handling assessments, and so the farming-out of assessments did not exist in the Achaemenid state.

The satrap, nomarchs, governors of cities and rural headmen, were responsible for the collection of taxes, while in the provinces that were situated on the borders of the empire, the tribal leaders were answerable for this. According to Xenophon (*Anab.* IV, 5, 24), there were in Armenia fortified settlements administered by *komarchs*, which collectively paid taxes to the Persian king. The *komarchs* (village elders) were responsible for the collection of these taxes and their delivery to the satrap [176:180; 175:105; *cf.* 147:109: "The assessment was paid on behalf of the community by its elders"].

Usually the sum of the taxes from the allotments of a certain group of landowners would fluctuate from 30 *shekels* to 15 *mina* of silver, above which an assessment was also paid in kind with beer, flour, barley and rams. One *mina* of silver was, as a rule, paid from one allotment.

The house of Murashu functioned only in southern and central Babylonia. In other parts of the country taxes could be paid with the help of local business houses, or by having recourse to the services of an intermediary agent. In all cases the taxes entered the treasury through the chiefs of certain communities of landowners or royal tax-collectors. For instance, a certain Bel-iqisha received 7.25 *shekels* of silver from one individual as the royal tax [*NRV* 554]. There were 28 *shekels* taken from two other individuals as an annual tax [*NRV* 557]. Sometimes, depending on the income of the tax-payer, the annual assessment was equal to 1.5 *shekels* [BE, Vol. 8, 100]. A series of documents testifies to the fact that it was necessary to sell houses for the payment of state taxes [*Dar* 323; *UET*, Vol. 4, 60; *BIN*, Vol. 1, 118]. All landowners, except the Persian magnates and the so-called benefactors of the king, were obliged to pay state taxes.

Besides landowners, taxes were paid by craftsmen from the income from their wares and also by other individuals. For instance, according to the testimony from a certain document, a Babylonian named Iddin-Nabu, after receiving some portion of his income from the temple, was obliged to pay barley and dates "imposed on him by the palace" [*NRV* 590].

In addition to direct taxes, the king also received various customs and other taxes in money and in kind (port duties, market duties, etc.). For instance, "the Egyptian Bel-iddin, an inspector for customs," received 4 *mina*, 5 *shekels* of silver from a certain Babylonian [*NRV* 575]. A duty of 70 *kur* of barley was paid for the use of a moorage [*Dar* 268]. In another case, the "customs dues to the house of the king" for the use of a moorage "according to the law (*dāta* – the Iranian word) of the king" amounted to 17 *kur* of barley, 3 *kur*, 3 *pan* of emmer, and 2 *pan*, 2 *sut* of mustard [*NRV* 681]. This sum was paid by several individuals. It was also necessary to pay a duty for the passage of ships along navigable canals, for the use of some bridges, etc. [*TCL*, Vol. 9, 147; *TCL*, Vol. 13, 196 and 232; *Peek* 18, etc.].

Pseudo-Aristotle (*Oec.* II, 4) writes that state income in the Persian empire was derived, in particular, from customs dues, pastoral products and other sources. The most substantial and durable source was the income from the land (or the tax from the harvest, which is called a tithe in some sources). Further on, this treatise mentions port collections, import duties, market duties, a tithe from livestock, a head tax, and a tax on craftsmen's wares. The same author (II, 13a–14a) also records the following curious cases concerning the daily practice of taxation. When Mausolus, the ruler of Caria, received orders from the Persian king to send taxes from his province, he gathered the wealthy people of the country together and proposed to them that they contribute money. Certain specially briefed people immediately declared that they would contribute certain sums, while the remaining rich men followed their example. Condalus, one of the civil servants subordinate to Mausolus, declared to the Lydians, who liked to wear long hair, that a letter had been received from the Persian king with an order to send hair for wigs. Condalus added that Mausolus demanded to have them shorn, but if they would pay the appropriate tax, then it would be possible to purchase the hair in Greece, a proposal to which the Lydians willingly agreed.

Above and beyond state taxes, the subjects also had to contribute to expenses for the maintenance of the satraps. Thus, the Book of Nehemiah (5:14–18) says that during the course of the twelve years when Nehemiah was governor of Judah, he did not eat "the governor's food allowance" at that time, as did former governors who had taken bread and wine from the people in addition to silver. But, at the same time, according to Xenophon [*Hell.* II, 1, 14], a portion of the tribute from the cities of Asia Minor went to the personal benefit of the satrap Cyrus the Younger. This can probably be explained by the fact that Cyrus was the son of the king and accordingly held a special position.

The sums of taxes set up under Darius I remained unchanged until the end of the existence of the Achaemenid empire, despite significant economic changes in the countries subject to the Persians. For instance, Herodotus (VI, 42) writes that the inhabitants of Asia Minor from the year 492 B.C. until his time (roughly 425–415 B.C.) paid "the same *phoros* which had been established by Artaphernes" (the satrap of Lydia under Darius I). When the Athenians seized some cities of Asia Minor in the fourth century B.C., they left unchanged the sum of taxes set up by the Persians. Later, Alexander the Great also acted in a similar manner, after he had conquered the countries of the Achaemenid empire.

According to the estimates of Altheim and Stiehl, between 521 B.C. and the battle at the Issos in 333 there were 189 fiscal years. During this time, the Achaemenids collected approximately 24,266.7 Solonian *talents* on the average per year as taxes, and 229,630 *talents* were deposited in the treasuries. Thus nearly 1,215 *talents* were amassed in the treasuries annually, *i.e.* one-nineteenth of the total sum of taxes [119:134ff]. However, when dealing with these hypothetical estimates based on reports from antiquity concerning the seizure of the treasuries of the Persian kings by Alexander the Great, we must bear in mind that, after the subjugation of Media, Lydia, Babylonia, Egypt and some other countries, the Achaemenids became masters of the treasuries whose gold and silver reserves were replenished over the course of decades and even of many centuries.

The taxes set by Darius were apparently moderate, but the arbitrary rule of provincial civil servants ruined the tax-payers. An especially great burden for the subjects was the maintenance of the Persian army when it passed through their territory. According to Herodotus (VII, 118–19), the Greek cities that took on the billeting of the Persian troops during the Greek campaign of Xerxes fell into dire straits, with the citizens even being deprived of their houses and property. The arrival of the troops would be announced beforehand and an order would be given to the effect that everyone should set about the procurement of reserves of foodstuffs. Over the course of many months they threshed the wheat and barley grain and fattened livestock and poultry. They also procured gold and silver goblets and other table utensils, which the Persians then carried off with them. Judging by Babylonian documents, in the fifth century B.C. grain and dates were substantially cheaper in Nippur than in Babylon; this is apparently explained by the fact that there was a substantial Persian garrison in Babylon (635:25).

The condition of the tax-payers also was adversely affected by the fact that it was necessary to borrow money for the payment of taxes, with real estate serving as collateral or members of one's family as pawns. As the Book of Nehemiah (5:3–5) testifies, many people borrowed silver in Judah for payment of royal assessments, thereby giving away their sons and daughters into slavery. The inhabitants of Judah complained that they did not have the opportunity to ransom their own children from slavery or vineyards and fields from creditors. Documents from Babylonia also show that many inhabitants of this satrapy mortgaged their own fields and orchards in order to obtain silver for the payment of taxes to the king. They were often not in a position to redeem their properties, and they became landless hired workers and were sometimes forced to hand over their own children into debt slavery. Monetary loans for the payment of taxes led to an increase in interest rates in Babylonia (for instance, if the annual rate under Cyrus and Cambyses was equal to 20 per cent, then at the end of the fifth century B.C. it was sometimes 40 per cent).

In the fourth century B.C. the collection of taxes began to turn into direct robbery and coercion, which caused numerous uprisings against Persian rule. According to Egyptian sources, taxes were so burdensome in the Saite–Persian period that the agriculturalists, who were not in a position to pay them, fled into the cities, but the nomarchs seized them and forcibly returned them to their native villages [637:31, with a reference to Rylands IX; 294, 2:203]. According to the "Demotic Chronicle" from Egypt, after the capture of the country by the "Medes" (*i.e.* Persians: apparently the writer had in mind the subjugation of Egypt by Artaxerxes III in 342 B.C.), the land and the islands were filled with lamentation, and people did not remain in Egyptian houses; the "Medes" had seized and begun to live in the houses of the Egyptians [DC, Col. 3, 18–23; Col. 4, 1–13; Col. 5, 1]. Although the tax burden had always been great in Egypt, the pharaohs had spent the sums collected locally prior to the capture of the country by the Persians, whereas the Achaemenids began to carry the money away to Iran.

Taxes went to the maintenance of the army, administration, and the royal court. The creation of a large administrative apparatus, which was far removed from productive labor and which lived as a parasite off the labor of the agriculturalists and craftsmen; the distribution of the land in large chunks to the Persian nobility and to royal soldiers; and the monetary taxes and immense expenditures of grain on the upkeep of garrison troops all had a negative effect on the development of the productive forces of the countries of the Achaemenid empire. All this was the cause for a rise in food prices, especially grain, to one and a half times what they had been in Babylonia and, most likely, in other countries as well [*cf.* 498, 1:366–7; 238:20ff; 635:24–5].

In addition to paying taxes, the subjects had to hand over their children to perform domestic work for the Persian kings, as bakers, cooks, wine-waiters, eunuchs, etc. According to the Book of Esther, the subjects had to send hundreds of concubines to the Persian kings (*cf.* above, p. 172).

Various other duties also existed. For instance, a Babylonian contract drawn up in 525 B.C. notes that the owner of "grain fields [had to bear] the royal conscription" [EKBK, 30]. A document from Nippur, which fixes the division of a field among several individuals, contains a stipulation to the effect that "each (of the land owners) will serve the king from their portion of the land allotment" [*TCL*, Vol. 12, 203). If both of these texts express duty with the term *ilku*, then other documents use the expressions "work for the palace," "work for the king," or "service to the king" [*YBT*, Vol. 3, 133; *CT*, 22, 244; BE, Vol. 10, 15; *UET*, Vol. 4, 1/2, etc.]. It is characteristic that we also encounter the word *pirku* ("injustice" or "evil") in Babylonian texts from Achaemenid times onwards, to designate state duties [550:176].

According to Herodotus (III, 97), the Persians occupied a special, privileged position in the state and were exempt from compulsory labor. If there were approximately one million Persians, then something less than one *mina*, on average, fell to each person from the total annual sum of monetary taxes of 14,560 Euboic *talents* of silver. This is an extremely significant sum, although, of course, there could not have been any question of its more or less equal distribution.

In the Achaemenid inscriptions Persia is likewise not included in the list of countries that performed obligations. This can be seen in an especially graphic way from the inscriptions of Darius I concerning the construction of various palaces in Susa. According to these inscriptions, the Persians, as distinct from other peoples, were exempt from construction work. This

policy of a clear-cut setting off of the Persians over and against other peoples became typical under Darius I, who in his own inscriptions repeatedly declared that he was a "Persian, the son of a Persian, an Aryan of Aryan origin" [for instance, DNa]. Through taxes the king generously rewarded his loyal servants, especially Persians. According to one document from Persepolis, 530 *karsha* of silver were distributed by personal order of Darius I to thirteen individuals, the majority of whom bore Iranian names (Mazdayasna, Bagabigna, etc.), for some sort of important service rendered by them to the king [*PTT* 4]. In one of his inscriptions Darius I declares that he bountifully rewards loyal people [DNb; *cf.* 386:8].

G MONETARY SYSTEMS

Gold and silver bars in the form of little bricks, pancakes and the like, served as money as early as the eighth and seventh centuries in Asia Minor, Greece and other countries [295:5ff]. In Asia Minor (Ionia and Lydia) the merchants produced such bars. There are also well-known metallic coils from Mesopotamia dating from the late 3rd to the 1st millennia B.C. [576a]. Some of these coils have been preserved in a hoard found in a bronze bowl at Nush-i Jan which was concealed there about 575 B.C. There were 231 objects in the hoard, comprising spiral beads, finger-rings, spiral rings, bar-ingots, etc. [216a:5ff].

Herodotus (I, 94) wrote that the Lydians were the first to invent gold and silver coins. The minting of Lydian coins dates from a time no earlier than the years 640 to 630 B.C. (Coins issued around the year 615 B.C. have been preserved [589:1–8]). These were coins made from electrum (a natural alloy of gold and silver) with a stamp on the obverse depicting a lion's head. The stamp served as a guarantee of the full weight of the coins and of the good quality of the metal. Now for the first time, trade had become possible without weighing the metals which had formerly acted as money. The Lydian coins were based on the Babylonian standard of weight units and weighed 8.12 grams (in Babylonia a *shekel* weighed 8.45 grams).

The literature on this subject has frequently assumed that the Persian kings minted coins as early as before Darius I. For instance, Gardner believed that it was unlikely that Asia Minor did not have considerable gold circulation during the 25 to 30 years after the fall of the Lydian empire or prior to the time of Darius [295:11 and 15]. He suggested that the Persian *darics* were issued immediately after the capture of Lydia by the Persians and hence that Cyrus, not Darius I, introduced them into circulation. But there is no reliable data whatsoever supporting this assumption, if one does not accept the account of the Alexandrian Greek of the second century A.D., Harpocration, who wrote that the *darics* had existed before Darius I and had received their name from the name of a more ancient king with that name. (Judging by the sources, however, such a ruler did not exist.) Furthermore, Xenophon in his historical novel *Cyropaedia* (V, 2, 7) mentions *darics* when relating events of the time of Cyrus II, but this is a blatant anachronism [for more details concerning the unreliability of the tradition attributing the invention of *darics* to Cyrus, see 351:22]. On a most reliable basis, Herodotus (IV, 166) dates the invention of gold Persian coins to the time of Darius I. However, it is completely possible that after the capture of Lydia the Persian governors continued to issue coins in Sardis of the same type and standard which had previously been minted by Croesus, since Cyrus usually preserved local economic and state institutions [*cf.* 351:23].

Herodotus's statement that the minting of Persian coins was undertaken by Darius I immediately after the suppression of the uprisings at the beginning of his reign must be examined critically.

Gold and silver plates with the inscriptions of Darius I have been excavated in the foundation of the *apadana*, in Persepolis. Four Lydian coins made of "white gold" electrum and four silver Greek coins were observed under the stone boxes which contained these inlaid inscriptions. However, not a single Persian coin was found among them. In all, 39 coins were found in Persepolis (most likely, they were accidentally dropped by the Macedonians who plundered the city), but they all originated in the western provinces of the state, and there was not a single *daric* among them [627, 1:138ff, 2:110–14]. The foundation of the Persepolis *apadana* was built between the years 517 and 514 B.C.; consequently, the invention of Persian coinage dates to a time after the year 517 B.C. Only an impression of a seal with the depiction of a *daric* has been preserved in Persepolis [627, 2:14]. The *terminus ante quem* for the minting of Persian coins is provided by a buried treasure on the Athos canal, which was built by Xerxes in 480 B.C. during his Greek campaign. There were 300 *darics* stashed in this hoard along with archaic tetradrachmas of Athens [627, 1:110; 624:12ff, 24].

Darius I introduced a monetary unit that was uniform for the entire state, a unit which formed the basis of the Achaemenid monetary system. This was a gold *daric* weighing 8.42 grams, *i.e.* somewhat heavier than the Lydian coins (some *darics* weigh 8.41–8.83 grams) [352:80; 372:cxxi].

The Greek author Pollux (III, 87) thought that the name *daric* had its origin in the name Darius, but this opinion is far-fetched, although it is even accepted by some contemporary numismatists [372:cxxi; 295:11]. The term *daric* was mostly likely not named after its inventor (Dārayavaush), but after the Old Persian word *daranya* meaning "gold."

The *daric* weighed 1/60 of the Babylonian *mina*. Thus, the Babylonian standard – which was widespread throughout all the Near East, except Syria, Phoenicia and the Greek cities of Asia Minor, where Greek standards prevailed [351:24] – formed the basis of the Achaemenid coinage system (as was also the case with Lydian money). The *daric* was equivalent to $\frac{1}{3,600}$ of a Persian *talent*, which weighed about 30 kilograms. Due to the fact that the *daric* contained two to three per cent impurities, and thus had a higher assay than the coins of Croesus, the *daric* became over the course of several centuries the chief gold currency in the world of trade. Judging by some reports, *darics* were distributed throughout Asia Minor. Thus, according to Herodotus (VII, 28), a certain Lydian named Pythios accumulated around the year 480 B.C. almost 4,000,000 *darics*, alongside 2,000 *talents* of silver. At the beginning of the fourth century, the governor of the province of Aeolis in Asia Minor had money in his own personal treasury that was sufficient for the maintenance of 8,000 soldiers for a year (Xen., *Hell.* III, 1, 28), although it is not known whether this money consisted of *darics* or other coinage.

As was earlier true in Lydia, the minting of gold coinage in Persia was the prerogative of the king. During the Ionian uprising at the beginning of the fifth century, some Greek cities of Asia Minor began to issue coins made from electrum. After the defeat of the Persians at Plataea in the year 479, the cities of Cyzicus and Lampsacus (Asia Minor) and the islands of Chios and Samos, among others, minted golden *staters*. The *staters* of Cyzicus, together with the *darics*, were widely used in Asia Minor, and at the end of the fifth century Cyrus the Younger, a satrap, paid off his Greek mercenaries with the Cyzicenes's coinage. Throughout the fourth century, gold coins were also minted by the rulers of Cyprus. Some numismatists have taken the view that this was done with the permission of the Persian king, but in the fourth century the power of the Persians on Cyprus was often ineffective.

The silver *shekel*, with a weight of 5.6 grams (sometimes up to 5.88 grams) and with impurities of no more than five per cent, was minted chiefly in the satrapies of Asia Minor on behalf of the Persian king. It served as the regular means of exchange. Following Xenophon (*Anab.* I, 7, 18), three hundred *darics* were equivalent to one *talent*, or 6,000 *shekels*. Consequently, five *darics* were equal to one *mina* of silver, while one *daric* was worth 20 *shekels* [351:29].

The same image of the Persian king appeared on the *shekels* as that which appeared on the *darics*, though on the *shekels* it was less carefully rendered. The king was depicted kneeling, with a beard and wearing a crown, with a quiver on his back and with a spear in his right hand and a bow in his extended left hand. The uniformity of style and absence of inscriptions make it impossible to attribute the Persian coins to any specific ruler [351:26].

The following types of coinage still existed in the Achaemenid state alongside the royal coinage: (1) the satrap's coinage, (2) provincial coinage with the image of the king, and (3) local coinage of the countries and cities that were subject to the Persians, particularly in the Mediterranean [351:25; 125:xxii ff]. All these coins were found in circulation at the same time as the royal coins.

Silver coins with different values were also minted by autonomous cities and dependent rulers. The images of Persian or local kings were carried on these coins. In particular, the Phoenician cities of Sidon, Byblos and Tyre and the dynasty of Caria issued their own coins with various images depicted on them. For instance, the god Melqart was depicted on the coins from Tyre, while an Athenian owl was found on the reverse; on the Byblos coins, a lion devours a bull (and there are also inscriptions of local kings); the Persian king Artaxerxes III, in a chariot driven by a coachman, is depicted on the coins from Sidon: there are two courtiers standing behind the king, while on the reverse one finds a Phoenician military ship at sea. The silver coins from Judah contain the legend *Jehud* (the Aramaic name of this province) with ancient Hebrew letters; on the obverse there is a bearded god, and on the reverse a man wearing a Corinthian helmet. Other coins from Judah depict an owl with the legend *Yehud*, with a reverse side carrying the name of the priest, Yeḥezqiyah (*Yḥzqyh*). Some scholars believe that this Yehezqiyah can be identified with Ezekias the high priest of Jerusalem [418:41; 293:182; 124a:28–9].

In the fifth and fourth centuries silver coins were issued at their own residences by the following satraps of Asia Minor and other provinces: Cyrus the Younger, Pharnabazos, Tissaphernes, Datames, Tiribazos, Orontes, etc. This money, however, was intended not for the economic needs of the respective satrapies, but for the payment of mercenaries during wars. These satraps did not decide to issue gold coins, even during their own frequent uprisings against the king.

The Persian king, and sometimes even the satraps themselves, were depicted on the coins of the satrapies in most instances. In addition, the coins contain Greek or Aramaic legends with the names of the respective governors (*e.g. Trybzw, Prnbzw, Trdmw = Datames*) [125:21–40, Tables 3–6]. Datames, the satrap of Cilicia from the years 376 to 372 B.C., was depicted in Persian apparel on his knees with a quiver, while in his hands he is holding an arrow, and there is a bow in front of him. In Daskyleion Pharnabazos issued silver coins with the image of his head and a Greek legend containing his name.

Mazaios, the satrap of Cilicia, to which Phoenicia was also joined under Artaxerxes III, issued his own coins in the city of Tarsus in the fourth century (Mazaios was the governor of Phoenicia from 361 to 333 B.C.). His name (Mzy) appears in Aramaic letters on these coins. Other coins were minted in the name of Mazaios in Phoenicia (probably in Sidon), and they

bore the legend, "Mazaios who is over the areas Across the River (Abarnahara) and Cilicia." Some coins minted by Mazaios have been found in Susa. These coins depict Artaxerxes III, sitting on a throne in an Egyptian head-dress. In his hand he is holding a scepter which ends with the little blossom of a lotus. Coins have also been preserved that were turned out by Themistocles when he was in the service of Persia; they have images of an eagle and the god Apollo [465:386ff; 211:344ff; 372:65ff]. (Themistocles was the ruler of the city of Magnesia in Asia Minor.) The coins of Evagoras, the ruler of Cyprus, show him with a spear in his raised right hand, while the obverse side shows the Persian king shooting with a bow [125:55].

According to Herodotus (IV, 166), Darius I put the Egyptian satrap Aryandes to death because the silver coins issued by him were purer than the royal coins. Herodotus also claimed that Aryandes's coins were still found in circulation in his time, but none have come down to us. It is possible that Aryandes was indeed punished for the fact that his coins were of a higher assay than the royal coins, but Aryandes's apparent disloyalty towards Darius was the most likely reason for his execution, since Herodotus says that Aryandes was accused of trying to foment a rebellion [*cf.* 351:30].

However, the coins minted by the Persians were little used outside Asia Minor, and even in the Phoenician–Palestinian world of the fourth century B.C. they did not play any role whatsoever [*cf.* 293:101]. Greek silver money – which was in regular circulation in the countries of the Aegean, including Sicily and Egypt – predominated in the sixth and fifth centuries in many countries of the Persian state. Ingots of unminted silver made their way about even more frequently in these countries, while *shekels* minted by the Persians played only a secondary role. This explains why only eight Persian *shekels* were found in a buried treasure of silver coins unearthed in the year 1933 in Kabul, a treasure which testifies to the existence of minted money in eastern Iran (the treasure was buried around the year 380 B.C.). This treasure also contained a small square piece of silver with two cuneiform signs. Figulla saw in these signs the name of Cyrus and thought that we had here a Persian coin issued around the year 500 B.C. However, there is little likelihood of this; the object formed part of a silver box from the treasury of the Achaemenids [356; 397].

At the same time the treasure contains Greek money from nearly all the Greek regions (the Greek cities of Asia Minor, Chios, Aegina, Thasos, etc.) and from all periods, beginning with archaic rectangular ingots with stamps and continuing to *staters* and *tetradrachms*. The dominant role among these is played by the Athenian *tetradrachms* (comprising 34 of the 64 Greek coins of the sixth and fifth centuries). Athenian *tetradrachms* have also been found in the Amu Darya treasure from northern Bactria. Thus, if the Persian *darics* were the leading currency in world gold, then among silver money this place belonged to Greek, particularly Athenian, money [624:6, 25ff].

More or less independently minted coins, issued after the pattern of Athenian *tetradrachms* with Greek legends and depictions of an owl and of the goddess Athena, appeared in many countries of the Achaemenid empire in the fourth century [624:13ff]. The Attic standard also prevailed in Judah and was known in Syria and Phoenicia [119:311; 418:40ff; 213:118; 214:54–5]. In the fourth century many Palestinian coins imitated the minting of Sidon [214:54]. There have also been preserved coins of an Athenian imitation struck in Egypt, including a *tetradrachm* of Athenian type struck by Sabaces, the satrap of Egypt, who perished at the battle of Issos in 333 B.C. Two Egyptian coins imitating those of Athens, which are of particular interest, have an inscription in Demotic Egyptian that reads "Artaxerxes Pharaoh." In all probability they were struck in Egypt by Artaxerxes III, and were to be used in that country [520a].

Prior to the conquests of Alexander the Great, the use of coins had hardly spread to the countries that were removed from the shores of the Mediterranean, even the provincial centers of Asia Minor [125:xxi]. Although in the fifth century the merchant section of some peoples (*e.g.* the Phoenicians) made wide use not only of the money of their own country, but also of foreign money, in internal trade within Babylonia, which was one of the most economically developed satrapies, payment was made in ingots of silver in the shape of little bars, rods, circles, stars, etc., instead of minted coins [266:329]. A hoard of such ingots dating from the fourth century B.C. has been found in Kalhu (the contemporary Nimrud in Iraq). These ingots contained various impurities (more often than not $\frac{1}{8}$, less frequently $\frac{1}{5}$, $\frac{1}{10}$, $\frac{1}{12}$, etc.), and were accompanied by stamps which indicated the assay. Documents also mention "refined silver" in which the admixtures were eliminated by means of melting. Such silver was used mainly for the payment of royal assessments. Of lesser value was the so-called white silver, where the percentage of admixtures was high. During frequent sales and purchases the ingots were worn down and became lighter in weight, but this had little significance because they were weighed anew each time.

In those cases where coins came into circulation in Babylonia, they were also accepted in terms of their weight as unminted metal. *Darics* are never mentioned in Babylonian texts, whereas the first mention of a Greek *stater* can be dated at 319 B.C., *i.e.* during Seleucid times [*UET*, Vol. 4, 43]. As early as under the first Seleucids, ingots were in circulation at the same time as coins. It is significant that in the Akkadian language the concept of "to buy" is expressed by the words "to lead away (or to carry off) for silver," while the actual term for "silver" (*kaspu*) has its origin in a verb with the meaning "to break off a piece." Gold was a commodity in Babylonia, Egypt and, generally, throughout the Near East, and was not used as money.

The Babylonian *shekel* was a unit of weight equivalent to 8.4 grams, whereas 60 *shekels* made up one *mina* (505 grams) and 60 *mina* one *talent* (30 kg.). Many Assyriologists have contended that locally minted coins were widely distributed in Mesopotamia as early as the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods (eighth to sixth centuries). These scholars refer to an inscription of Sennacherib, which speaks of the manufacture in clay forms of half *shekels* of bronze [Luckenbill, p. 123, col. 1, 29; 634, col. 278; 543:231ff; 640:184–5; 607:22ff; 480:345]. But such an opinion has been found to contradict a large number of documents, and minted coinage even under the Achaemenids had still not begun to circulate in Babylonia and, at best, could only have been used for trade with the Greek cities. Numismatists have made reference also to the word *dariku* in the Akkadian texts of the first millennium B.C., considering it to be the Babylonian transcription for the word "*daric*." But subsequently it has been ascertained that this word designated some sort of container for dates.

A roughly similar situation also existed in Achaemenid Egypt, where silver was weighed upon payment against the "stone of the king." Kraeling holds that the state institutions in Egypt had such standard stones everywhere for the weighing of silver. However, as the power of the Achaemenids weakened, the royal measures gradually began to be supplanted by the measures of private individuals. For instance, one Aramaic papyrus mentions the "stone of (the god) Ptah" [*AP* 11]. In Kraeling's opinion, this papyrus was written when an uprising in Egypt had occurred and when the ancient Egyptian standard was accepted – a standard which is also mentioned in the Demotic documents from the time of Darius I (Kraeling, p. 38). Sometimes one encounters the expression "refined silver" in the Aramaic papyri, which testifies to the influence of the Babylonian monetary system. This influence also had its effect upon the subdivisions of the *shekel* ($\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{6}$ of a *shekel* are mentioned).

An Aramaic contract concerning the sale, in 402 B.C., of a house in Elephantine which previously belonged to the "Caspian" Bagazusht is very interesting. The house was appraised at one *karsha* (or 10 *shekels*; *cf.* below) and 3 *shekels*, which was paid by "Yavan (i.e. Ionian) silver in the amount of 6 *staters* and one *shekel*" [Kraeling 12]. Thus, 2 *shekels* in the text almost equal 1 *stater* (in terms of weight, obviously). Porten feels that in this case the Elephantine *shekel* must have weighed 8.76 grams, since the Athenian *tetradrachm*, which is what was designated by the term *stater* of Yavan, weighed 17.52 grams [573:64–5]. The reference in this papyrus to the *stater* is the most ancient in the Aramaic texts. The Greek *stater* is also mentioned in an Aramaic papyrus compiled at the turn of the century between the fifth and fourth centuries (*AP* 35 – fifth year of Amyrtaios; see also *AP* 37, without a date, which is a letter that mentions 12 *staters*). In the texts under discussion, the *staters* of Yavan can only refer to Athenian *tetradrachms* (Yavan means Ionian, though all the Greek provinces were generally designated in such a manner in Egypt and Babylonia). Consequently, at the end of the fifth century when Persian hegemony was shaken with an uprising under the leadership of Amyrtaios in Lower Egypt, Greek coins began to circulate even in the southern part of this country, which had remained loyal to the Persians [*cf.* Kraeling, p. 40]. Greek coins of various types began to be widely used throughout Egypt in the fourth century. In addition, gold coins with various images and hieroglyphic inscriptions, which translate as "good gold," have been found in Memphis. Apparently, these were coins issued by the local pharaohs of the fourth century, when Egypt was an independent country [428:117].

In Persia itself coins were not in circulation, and the workers of the royal household and even the highest state civil servants received their payments and salaries in unminted silver and products in kind.[41] Such a practice was also attested to in the documents from Babylonia and Egypt. It is possible that only in the satrapies of Asia Minor was the salary issued in minted silver. In any case, military mercenaries in Asia Minor received their salary in gold and silver coins. *Darics* are not mentioned at all in the Persepolis documents, while the *shekel* and *karsha*, which these texts often mention, were units of weight and not monetary tokens [*cf.* 119:167ff]. The Persian *shekel* was equal to the Babylonian *shekel*, while ten *shekels* made up one *karsha* (83.33 grams). In Old Persian the *shekel* was called a *pathuka* – literally "ram." Harmatta believes that when this term was first used a ram was worth one *shekel* of silver (probably as early as the seventh century among the Medes), and that in those times livestock was the means of payment [347:301ff; see also 302:184]. Let us note in passing that a hoard of silver ingots from the beginning of the first millennium B.C., which was used as money, has been found in Luristan [159]. The Persepolis texts also mention *dānaka*, which amounted to ⅛ of a *shekel*, and later on also designated a small silver coin. A weight weighing one *karsha* has been found in Persepolis, while a weight weighing two *karsha* with a cuneiform inscription was published as early as the year 1916 by Weissbach [712:78ff; see also 710:xxii; 424:114]. A weight made of diorite weighing 120 *karsha* (9.950 kg) with a trilingual cuneiform inscription certifying its weight, has also been found in Persepolis [627, 1:193, 2:105ff]. One diorite weight weighs 60 *karsha* [386:7; 42:373, note 203]. One of these weights (weighing 2,222.425 grams) is preserved in the Oriental Institute in Leningrad. It is inscribed with a cuneiform text, as is the case on other weights, certifying its weight. Recently a weight from Achaemenid times was also found in Afghanistan [684:277–80].[42]

All these stone weights of pyramidal form were standard units of weight which the Persian administration considered mandatory not only for Persia, but probably also for the satrapies, at least upon the payment of royal taxes. However, in Egypt, Babylonia and other countries the old local weight measures were also preserved. For instance, in Babylonia each of the temples and the major business houses had its own measures for weights and volumes, which differed from each other, and these were gradually supplanted by the royal measure. Babylonian weights with cuneiform inscriptions indicating their weight have been preserved [*e.g. BIN*, Vol. 2, Table 73]. One of the Egyptian weights has a weight of 8.78 grams, which corresponds to the standard of the Elephantine *shekel* of 8.76 grams [573:65]. Such weights were also known from Judah. They were made of stone and bronze, and some have the inscriptions "*shekel*," "¼ *shekel*," etc. [10:144]. A bronze weight from the fifth century in the form of a lion with an Aramaic inscription has been found in Abydos (on the Hellespont in Asia Minor). Its weight is 31.099 kg (until recently it was inaccurately reported as weighing 25.657 kg), which is close to the Babylonian (30.30 kg) and Solonian *talent* (29.628–30.96 kg). [This has been published more than once, the latest being 514, where the previous literature on the subject is also listed.] Olmstead translates the inscription on this weight as "Exact according to the satrapy of the king" [547:158]; this translation must undoubtedly be rejected in favor of the following: "in precise conformity with the silver *stater* (?)."

In general, the Persians used coins for commercial exchange with the Greeks along the borders of the state and for payment of salaries to mercenaries [125:xxi].

During the Achaemenid period the provinces of eastern Iran became acquainted with coins for the first time, and specimens of *darics* and other Achaemenid coins have been found in Central Asia [56:6], but there are no grounds for speaking of their widespread dissemination. All this can easily explain the fact that, with the exception of Asia Minor, hoards of coins from Achaemenid times are encountered very rarely, including in Babylonia and in Persia itself.

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[41] Previously, Cameron, the editor of the Persepolis Treasury texts, thought that the latter provided evidence of the transition from an economy based on payment in kind to a monetary economy [*PTT*, p. 2]; but although it was accepted by a majority of scholars, this opinion turned out to be incorrect, and Cameron later rejected it.

[42] As far as other measures are concerned, a perfume bottle was found in Persepolis, the volume of which was indicated on the bottle itself – 8⅓ *ka* (1 *ka* = 0.945 liter); however the upper portion of the vessel was broken off, making it impossible to ascertain with certainty the precise determination of its volume [627, 2:108ff; 378:237–8; *cf.* 676:123, according to which 1 *ka* was equal to 0.97

In those countries where payments were made with non-minted silver, apparently even private individuals, not to mention temples, had the right to manufacture silver ingots after having given them a definite shape, weight and purity similar to those of the ingots already in circulation. The temples and palaces in Babylonia, Egypt and other countries of the Near East developed techniques for the realization of large sums of taxes and voluntary gifts, and these techniques were accepted by the state administrations of the Achaemenids. The payment of taxes was made in silver of rather poor quality, while taxes in kind were appraised by official experts in order to determine their value in silver [551:116–20]. In order to obtain the necessary uniformity, the silver was sent to temple and state workshops for refining and smelting into ingots of standard weight and quality, after which these ingots were placed in the treasuries.

One document that has been preserved among the tablets of the Persepolis treasury was written in the Akkadian language and establishes the payment of state taxes in the nineteenth to twentieth year of the reign of Darius I (502 B.C.). The silver that had been paid was evaluated in terms of purity and weight, and after this assessment a final calculation was made, and it was determined what sum the said tax-payers still had to contribute, proceeding on the basis of the fact that taxes had to be paid with silver of a certain standard. The document notes that four tax-payers had paid silver of three types (white, second-grade and low quality) and, depending on the quality of the metal, the sums paid were marked down from 0.416 to ten per cent [*PTT*, pp. 4 and 200–3]. In the light of this document we can also come to understand the fact that on many silver Persian *shekels* numerous small stamps and other markings have been observed, markings which were most likely left by financial civil servants [*cf.* 295:5–6].

Precious metal belonging to the state was subject to minting at the discretion of the king, and a large portion of it remained unminted. Herodotus (III, 96) writes that in Persia molten metal was cast into clay pitchers and that these pitchers were then smashed. When money was needed, the king indicated how much gold had to be chopped off. According to Strabo (XV, 3, 21), the Persians kept a lot of gold and silver in the form of utensils, whereas not much of it was stored as coins – only as much as was necessary for circulation. The *Oeconomica* (II, 1–4) of Pseudo-Aristotle says that the Persian king regulated the ratio between gold and silver, that a large amount of these metals was left unminted, and that the minting of coins was the exclusive monopoly of the Persian king. The king would decide what portion of the taxes in kind that had

come from the satraps would go for the upkeep of the army, court and state apparatus and also for the payment of employees of the state economy. In connection with this, many expenditures were made in kind. The king would also decide how much of the pay was to be issued to employees in kind and how much in money. Thus, the king would manipulate the rate of exchange of precious metals in his favor, on the basis of the vast reserves of unminted metal which the Achaemenids had accumulated in their own treasuries since the time of Cyrus II [118:192–3].

At a time when gold was worth ten times more than silver in Greece, this ratio in the Persian state was equivalent to 1:13⅓ (as Meyer has indicated the statement by Herodotus that the ratio of gold to silver was 1:13 was imprecise). Such a policy of cheap silver assured a series of advantages for the royal treasury, since the employees of the royal household received their pay calculated in silver – *i.e.* substantially less than they would have received if more expensive gold had been the standard of exchange. In addition, the very principle of remuneration was advantageous to the treasury, since instead of money it issued, in particular, such perishable goods as wine and mutton. Some of these goods were sold by employees back to the treasury at prices established by the latter, and in this way the state extracted additional profits [119:168].

However, the policy of cheap silver also had its negative consequences for the royal treasury, since the Greeks could purchase unminted silver in the countries of the Achaemenid state, haul it to Greece, and mint it there, so as then to sell silver coins in the Persian state. This led to a drain of silver into Greece. The royal treasury therefore shifted to the minting of its own full-value silver coinage, which was ¼ heavier than the Attic *drachma*, seeking thereby to distinguish this coinage from Greek silver money [119:169].

When Alexander the Great seized Susa, 50,000 *talents* in ingots and only 9,000 in coins were found in the royal treasury (Curt. V, 2, 11; Diod. XVII, 7). Furthermore, the Macedonians seized 3,000 *talents* of precious metals at Issos, 20,000 *talents* in Babylon, 6,000 *talents* in Pasargadae, 12,000 *talents* in Ecbatana, 120,000 *talents* in Persepolis, 2,000 *talents* in Sardis, 3,000 *talents* in Damascus, and 3,500 *talents* in Arbela (Curt. V., 6, 10). Calculating by the silver standard, the total amount of gold and silver which was stored in the Achaemenid treasuries at the time of the downfall of the Persian state came to no less than 235,630 Attic *talents* (more than 7,000,000 kg) [119:109ff; *cf.* 627, 1:156ff].

Thus, the money that had come in as state taxes over the course of many decades had been set aside in the royal treasuries; it was withdrawn from circulation and only a small portion was expended for the maintenance of the court and administration. This meant that there was a shortage of

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liters in Babylonia]. Along with this Babylonian measure, there also existed a purely Persian measure – an *artaba* with a weight of 30 *ka* (according to other sources, much more).

minted coins and even previous metals in ingots for trade [195:3; 341:70 and 74; 547:298; 614:20–1], which severely hampered the development of commodity–money relations, forcing the retention of an economy with payment in kind or compelling recourse to the direct exchange of goods. As documents from Babylonia testify, barter frequently took place in this country under the Achaemenids owning to the shortage of silver (for example, dates or barley were exchanged for sheep and cattle, slaves, wool, clothing, gold, wine and beer; [see *BIN*, Vol. 1, 95; *Camb* 44; *Dar* 282 and 291; *NRV* 658, 850 etc.]). Consequently, the desire of the Achaemenid kings to establish a coinage standard and to introduce it in trade was not terribly successful. An economy with payment in kind continued to prevail in many countries, while a money economy played only a subordinate role in most cases.

H TREASURIES

The treasury functioned as the center for the financial administration of the state and had at its disposal not only gold, silver, ivory, vessels made from precious metals, precious stones, weapons, carpets, silk and the like, but also grain, wine, oil, livestock, clothing, etc. [411:52; 220:239; 119:162ff; *cf.* 511, 3:86ff]. For instance, the Persepolis texts speak of the delivery of vegetable oil and hides of sheep and cattle to the treasuries in Shiraz, Batrakatash, Matezzish, etc. [*PF* 58–71, 75, 76, 128–31]. Also, in some places bakeries were located adjacent to the treasury [*PF* 405, 406]. However, along with the treasuries there also existed storehouses (the Elamite word is *amparaš*, which is a transcription of the Old Iranian *hambāra*) *PF*, p. 666; *cf.* 433a]. This word is also attested to in Babylonian documents of Achaemenid times, in the form *ambaru*. The chief of the warehouse (*hambārabara*) had to handle grain, sheep, oil, etc.

The chief of the treasury, his assistant and the numerous staff of accounting clerks and scribes were engaged in the receipt, verification, sealing, storage and issuance of various commodities (*cf.* the expressions "secretaries of the treasury" and "accountants of the treasury" in the Aramaic documents from Egypt – *AP* 2, 26, etc.) [627, 1:172;332:180].

The word which was used to designate the treasury (*ganza*) was borrowed by the Achaemenid administration from the Median language [301:10; 358:197; 488:13–14]. It is encountered together with *ganzabara* ("treasurer") in various forms in the Elamite, Aramaic, Akkadian, Biblical, Greek and other sources from Achaemenid times [610:245 and 264; *AD*, p. 77]. The word *upaganzabara* ("assistant to the chief treasurer") is encountered in Aramaic inscriptions of the fifth century B.C. from Persepolis [627, 2:55, note 69, with a reference to Eilers]. Initially the word *ganza* meant "plentiful" and did not apply just to precious metals [358:198]. Subsequently, it was borrowed by Elamite (in the form *kanzam*; *cf.* its Elamite correlate *kapnuški*) and by almost all the Semitic languages (including Akkadian *aktenzi*; *cf.* also *ganzabara* of the Babylonian texts), Greek, Lycian, Sanskrit and many other languages, including even Russian where it had the meaning of "treasure" [610:245; 264:123–4; 434:190 and 1062].

As excavations have shown, the treasury in Persepolis, the construction of which was completed by 492 B.C., consisted of an immense complex of buildings with a length of 133.90 m and width of 77.6 m (the total area was nearly 11,000 square m); it was built of mud bricks [627, 1:157ff]. It had nearly 110 separate rooms, and it functioned for more than 150 years until it was plundered by the Macedonian conquerors. Items found there by archaeologists indicate the contents of this treasury. These finds consist of fragments of smashed royal vessels, an Assyrian goblet made from granite, which had once belonged to king Ashurbanipal (the inscription with his name has been preserved), alabaster vases, statuettes of Egyptian divinities, various objects with the names of the pharaohs Necho and Amasis as well as of Neo-Babylonian kings, Babylonian sculpture, a Greek marble statue, nearly 200 seals, some of which were foreign (and including even some from the Jemdet Nasr period), stone vessels, glassware, bronze vessels, weapons, etc. Some of these items had come into the treasury as gifts or taxes to the Persian king, whereas others represented military booty [*cf.* 627, 1:156ff]. A striking idea of the content of the Persepolis treasury is provided also by the reliefs depicting representatives of various peoples delivering assessments or gifts to the Achaemenid kings.

The main treasures of the Achaemenids were apparently kept in Persepolis, despite the statement of Herodotus (V, 49) that the wealth of the Persian kings was to be found only in Susa. According to Diodorus (XVII, 7) and Curtius Rufus (V, 6, 9), the Macedonians seized 120,000 *talents* of precious metals in Persepolis, *i.e.* almost half of all the monetary booty that fell to them during the war with the Persians (although it is true that according to Strabo (XV, 3, 9) 40,000 to 50,000 *talents* were captured in Susa and Persia).

The Persepolis treasury is constantly mentioned in the Elamite economic texts, so we can reconstruct without difficulty how it functioned over the course of several decades. Iranians invariably appear as its chief administrators (Pharnadates, Bagadata, Datamitra, etc.). The royal seal with the cuneiform trilingual inscription "I, Darius . . .," which continued to be used even in the period of the reign of Xerxes, was at the disposal of the chief of the treasury [384:262]. Many labels with impressions of seals have also been preserved; these labels were attached as accounting documents to objects which were stored in the treasury. These objects were then plundered by the troops of Alexander the Great or burned in the fire (only charred fragments remained intact from some impressions of the seals) [627, 2:5].

Many texts record the delivery of gold and silver to Persepolis from various places. One document speaks of the receipt near Persepolis of 600 *karsha* of gold, brought from the city of Matezzish [*PTT* 83]. According to another text, in 500 B.C. four men headed by the chief administrator of the treasury were engaged in the delivery of silver from Susa to Matezzish [*PF* 1342]. It is likely that in the end this silver was also intended for Persepolis. The following year some sort of "Babylonian treasure" was brought from Susa to Persepolis and the chief of the guard obtained a special admission pass in Susa [*PF* 1357]. In Hinz's opinion, the chief of the treasury in Persepolis simultaneously supervised other treasuries that were located in Persia (in Shiraz, Pasargadae, etc.; a total of seven treasuries, not counting the one in Persepolis) [384:265].

Cameron has postulated that the Persepolis treasury was not a statewide treasury, but the provincial royal treasury of Persia [*PTT*, pp. 11–12]. However, in all probability there did not exist in the Achaemenid empire any clear distinction between state and royal property, just as there was none between state and royal incomes. All the state receipts, including assessments, customs duties, etc., were considered royal property, as was the income from royal holdings in the proper sense of the word [*cf.* 411:52, note 1; 327:41; 119:81]. Documentation of this, in particular, can be found in the Aramaic papyri from Elephantine, which record the distribution of salaries to mercenary soldiers from the "royal house." By this term they referred to the royal treasury in Elephantine, which was at least only a small warehouse of natural products. Many pitchers and other vessels with Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions have been found in the building of this treasury during archaeological excavations [Kraeling, p. 80; 173:138]. The texts say that individuals who took out a loan in grain would have to return it from the rations which were to be issued from the "treasury of the king." Further on, the documents use the words "house of the king" as a synonym for that same expression [*AP* 2; Kraeling 11, etc.]. But another papyrus notes that a loan of 4 *shekels* of silver had to be paid off by the debtor from the salary which he would receive from the treasury [*AP* 11].

Judging by literary data, major royal treasuries were also located in Pasargadae, Ecbatana, Susa, Babylon, Memphis and other places (*cf.* above, p. 205). For instance, Alexander the Great siezed 5,000 *talents* of purple dye and many other valuables in Susa, not counting the gold and silver [Plut., *Alex.* 36]. According to Arrian (*Anab.* III, 16, 7), the booty of the Macedonian conquerors in Susa included also all that Xerxes had hauled out of Greece during his campaign there, including bronze statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton. Schmidt assumes that these statues were kept in the royal treasury, since a Greek statue was likewise found in the Persepolis treasury [627, 1:156–7].

Making a reference to Polycritus, a contemporary of Alexander the Great, Strabo (XV, 3, 21) writes that each Persian king built a treasury in Susa for the storage of assessments gathered during the course of his reign. When relating the wealth of the Persian kings that was stored in Susa, Athenaeus (*Deipnosoph.* V, 197B; XII, 539D) mentions a golden grape vine adorned with diamonds, which was stretched over the royal couch, and also plane trees made of gold.

It is commonly known that after the capture of Babylonia by the Persians, the Iranian Mithredath was appointed the chief of the royal treasury in Babylon. This is the Mithredath who – upon orders from Cyrus II – issued to a representative of the Jewish community, Sheshbazzar, 5,400 gold and silver vessels hauled off by Nebuchadnezzar from the temple in Jerusalem (Ezra 1:7–11). Apparently, the successor to this Mithredath was another Iranian, Bagasaru, who occupied the post of chief of the royal treasury in Babylon for at least eighteen years, from 518 to 500 B.C. [220:237].

We also encounter the Iranian word *gitepatu*, which initially had the meaning of "overseer of livestock," in the Akkadian texts from Achaemenid times onwards, to designate a civil servant of a fiscal department involved in appraising the assessments that had come into the treasury [for the evolution of this term, see 680].

Judging by the texts from Egypt, the state treasury of this satrapy was located in Memphis under the patronage of the god Ptah. The demotic papyri mention "silver from the treasury of Ptah" [173; 176]. Under Darius I its chief was the Egyptian Ptahhotep, whose statue and stela have been preserved to the present day (*cf.* below, p. 315). Furthermore, each Egyptian district (*nomos*) had its local treasury with accounting clerks and scribes. The texts mention, in particular, civil servants of the treasury who would pay the salaries to soldiers [173:137–8]. General supervision over all these treasuries was exercised by the satrap of the country. It can be seen from the letters of the Egyptian governor Arshama that the satraps and other notable Iranian magnates had their own treasuries with a substantial staff of accounting clerks and scribes.

I TRADE

Numerous factors, such as the relative political calm that set in throughout the Near East after the decade of the twenties of the sixth century B.C., economic prosperity, good sea routes, exemplary maintenance of old trade roads and construction of new roads, a more widespread use of money, and the re-establishment of contacts among representatives of various peoples, all promoted the development of international trade on a previously unknown scale.

In the Achaemenid empire several major caravan roads joined provinces separated from each other by many hundreds of kilometers. One such road began in Lydia, cut across Asia Minor and continued to Babylon; another route from Mesopotamia passed through the former territory of what had originally been Assyria and also led to Asia Minor. There were two trade routes that led from Tarsus in Asia Minor: one through the Cilician Gates to the north, ultimately to the Black Sea; and a second to the west along the coast of the sea and then through Kerman. A road was laid from the northern Black Sea littoral along the southern Russian steppes through the Urals to Siberia; gold came to the western countries along this road. A caravan road that crossed the Zagros Mountains, then joined Babylon with Ecbatana, and continued farther to Bactria and the borders of India had great significance. A road, which stretched from the Gulf of Issos to Sinope through Asia Minor ultimately linked the Aegean to the Transcaucasus and the northern portion of West Asia, and a road through the Makran linked Iran with the Indus Valley.

Finally, the longest road was the so-called Royal Road, which stretched for nearly 2,400 km. It ran from Ephesus on the western coast of Asia Minor to Sardis, then through Mesopotamia along the Tigris, and through Persepolis and Pasargadae to Susa. Stations with service facilities were located along it every 25–30 km. Part of the route was paved with stone, and in some places traces of the stone surface have been preserved to the present day; vestiges of a pavilion with the bases of columns made in the Achaemenid style and adorned with lotus blossoms have been observed at one place in Persia. This pavilion was situated on the same part of the Royal Road which linked Susa to Persepolis.

The satraps, who inflicted punishment upon robbers, kept an eye on the safety of the roads within the borders of their own provinces [for more details on trade routes in Achaemenid times, *cf.* 201; 426:120ff; 453:89–109].

A canal, which extended from the Nile to Suez, was restored under the orders of Darius I; this canal had been built more than 100 years before Persian rule by Pharaoh Necho but had later become non-navigable. It linked the Nile with the Red Sea through Wadi Tumilat. It was up to 45 m wide, and four days were required to get from Bubastis to the Red Sea. There were five stelae placed along its banks; these stelae were made from granite and contained inscriptions of Darius I in Egyptian hieroglyphics and in trilingual cuneiform. According to one Egyptian inscription, the king had sent ships in order to check the navigability of the canal; it was determined that there was no water for a distance of 84 km. The Suez

Canal linked Egypt with Persia by a maritime route through the Red Sea, and in this way a route was established from Egypt to India. According to an Egyptian inscription, a fleet consisting of 24 boats laden with assessments was sent from Egypt to Persia by way of this canal [575:180ff; 576; *cf.* Herod. II, 158–9; Diod. I, 33; Strabo XVII, 1, 25]. Until recently it was thought that the Suez Canal was built in the first half of the reign of Darius I. On the basis of variations in the writing of the name of Darius in the Egyptian texts, Yoyotte showed that the construction of the canal was completed in the last third of his rule [425:266]. Relying upon Fortification documents that mention the delivery of various objects to Persepolis, Hinz holds that the construction of the canal was finished in 498 B.C. [390:120].

The expedition of Skylax, a mariner from Karyanda in Asia Minor, was very important for the development of trading ties. In 518 B.C. Skylax was ordered by Darius I to investigate the estuary of the Indus and the possibility of establishing sea connections between India and other lands of the empire. The boats of Skylax plied along the Indus River to the ocean; then having sailed along the southern coasts of Iran, they circumnavigated Arabia to reach the littoral of the Red Sea after 30 months. As a result of measures adopted by Darius I, the Persian Gulf, which from the most ancient times had been the central route of maritime connections between the East and West, assumed particular significance for the development of trade [622]. Only one sea route completely lost its importance in Achaemenid times. Ur, one of the most ancient cities of world-wide civilization, which was situated on the sea routes from the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean, had over the course of many centuries played a colossal role in international trade, particularly with the western Semites. In the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. Ur experienced a period of political and economic rebirth, and it was still flourishing during the reign of Cambyses. But after 400 B.C. the city lost its economic and commercial significance and was practically abandoned by its inhabitants, due to the fact that the Euphrates sharply altered its course; the irrigation system for the urban district became useless, and the harbors filled in with sand [453:107–9; 179:347; 731:2]. This change inflicted substantial losses on Babylonian trade, since the transport of commodities on dry land was costly and time-consuming.

Differences in the natural and climatic conditions of the lands that made up the Achaemenid empire were also very important for the development of trading relations. Babylonia played the role of middleman in trade between the Phoenician–Palestinian world and the countries to the south and east of Mesopotamia, and also with South Arabia. An especially lively trade existed between Babylonia and Egypt, Syria, Elam and Asia Minor, where the Babylonian merchants purchased gold, silver, iron, copper, tin, wine, fruits, semi-precious stones, construction timber, etc. From Egypt and Syria the Babylonians purchased alum for the dyeing of wool and bleaching of clothing, and also for the production of glass and for medicinal purposes [731:155; 29:15ff; references to texts are also cited there; *cf.* Plin., *Nat. Hist.* IV, 4 and XXV, 52].

That wood was highly valued in unforested Babylonia can be seen from the following documents. According to one text from Nippur, Rimut-Ninurta from the house of Murashu spent five *mina* of silver on two doors that were "totally made from wood each 15 cubits in length and 3.5 cubits and 8 digits in width . . . If any claims whatsoever arise concerning these doors, the (sellers) must clear them before the judges (and) hand them over to Rimut-Ninurta" [UM 173]. Another document from Sippar, which was drawn up under Cyrus, testifies to the fact that when litigation arose over twelve beams, the plaintiff and defendant had to go to Babylon where the judges had to settle the case according to "royal laws."

In Persia itself commodity–money relations were very poorly developed. According to Herodotus (I, 153) and Strabo (XV, 3, 19), the Persians did not have markets, since they neither sold nor bought. But in Egypt there have been finds of mirrors, vases and other objects which had been produced by Persian craftsmen and brought from Persia [174:392, notes 51 and 52]. Internal trade had developed in Egypt, and Herodotus (III, 139) mentions a market in Memphis. Construction timber, ivory, livestock, slaves, etc. were imported into Egypt from Ethiopia.

Egypt supplied grain, linen, and papyrus to the cities of mainland Greece, and, in return, purchased wine and olive oil from them [341:6]. Previously, Greek trade in Egypt had been restricted to the city of Naucratis. Later, according to Herodotus (II, 39), Greek merchants traded in Egyptian markets. Gradually, the Greeks not only supplanted the Phoenicians in the Aegean Sea, but also began to compete successfully with them in other regions as well. Their infiltration is demonstrated by the distribution of Greek money throughout the Persian empire, beginning with the territory of modern-day Afghanistan and ending with Egypt. Athenian coinage of the sixth century has been found in Zangezur (the southern part of Soviet Armenia), and fifth-century Milesian coins have been found in Western Armenia – both of these demonstrate trading relations between Armenia and Greece and Asia Minor [93:92ff].

Olive oil, wine and ceramics were exported from mainland Greece to the countries of the East. For instance, Athenian vases have been found not only on the shores of the Black Sea, but also in the capitals of the Achaemenid empire. Attic and Rhodesian ceramics have also been found in large numbers in Jerusalem. Numerous Greek ceramics – almost all Athenian, and dated to the second half of the sixth century – which were found in Babylon, document the trade of the Greeks with Babylonia. Attic lamps of the fifth and fourth centuries have likewise been excavated there [718:51ff].

International maritime trade in the Achaemenid empire was chiefly in the hands of merchants from the Phoenician cities of Sidon, Tyre, Arados and Byblos, which were situated at the junction of three continents. Crafts were strongly developed in these cities, the products of which were intended for export. For instance, in Tyre many dye workshops manufactured a purple dye which, according to Strabo (XVI, 2, 23), was considered the most beautiful in the world. Glass dishware was produced in Phoenicia for export (according to Pliny, the Phoenicians were even the inventors of glass; this statement, however, is incorrect). Herodotus (III, 6) writes most about the delivery to Egypt of amphoras filled with wine from Phoenicia, and this report is corroborated by the discoveries there of large numbers of jugs with Phoenician inscriptions. One Aramaic papyrus dated to the Achaemenid period mentions the delivery to Egypt of "wine from Sidon" [507:23–4]. According to Herodotus (I, 194), the Phoenicians also brought their wine into Babylonia in clay vessels. Major trading colonies of Phoenicians also existed on Cyprus. For instance, the Cypriot city of Kition contained a Phoenician population.

The Book of Nehemiah (13:16) speaks of merchants from Tyre who lived in Judah for a long time (both in Jerusalem as well as outside it), selling fish and other goods. There is also a reference (13:15) to a domestic trade in Judah in which agriculturalists from surrounding areas used donkeys to haul wine, grapes, figs, etc. into Jerusalem for sale.

Spices, perfumes, myrrh, aloe, etc. were delivered from Arabia to Judah and other countries [446:67]. In addition, Egypt provided other countries with gold, ivory, glass beads, ebony and other luxury items. Phoenicia and Syria exported cedar wood, dyes, dishware, marble, basalt, etc. Iron and silver were supplied from Asia Minor, while copper was supplied from Cyprus and copper and limestone were exported from the regions of the upper course of the Tigris [*cf.* 63:9]. Gold, ivory and fragrances were imported from India. Lapis lazuli and carnelian came into the lands of western Asia from Sogdiana and Bactria, while turquoise came from Choresm [see 618:48, where the literature on the subject is cited and where a survey of new finds of lapis lazuli from Badakhshan on the territory of ancient Bactria can be found]. Ctesias mentions a Bactrian who was engaged in small-scale trade and who owned hundreds of semi-precious stones [76:135]. Siberian gold entered the countries of the Achaemenid empire from Bactria (although in the fifth century B.C. the influx of this metal ceased due to the movement of peoples in Central Asia, who cut off the trade routes [668:109]). The mines on the Pactolus River in Lydia remained one of the main sources of gold until the end of the rule of the Achaemenids. Judging by a recent report from Ctesias

(*FGrH* IIIC, Vol. 1, fragment 45, paragraph 26) there were deep silver mines in Bactria [73:41]. In Carmania they produced oil from acanthus, which was in great demand even at the court of the Persian king (Athen. *Deipnosoph.* II, 74). Salted, dried and smoked fish were exported from the shores of the Persian Gulf and from the Hellespont.

Judging by the objects of Achaemenid art that have been found in the Sarmatian tumuli near Orenburg from the fifth and beginning of the fourth centuries – objects made of sheet silver in the form of hollow horse figurines, a massive golden torque, a vessel with an inscription of Artaxerxes I, etc. – the nomads of the southern Urals maintained trade contacts with the Central Asian satrapies of the Persian empire. Objects made by Greek artisans from Naucratis in the Nile delta have even been discovered in Central Asia [70:26]. The excavations of Altaic tumuli from the sixth to the fourth centuries also testify to the trade relations between Iran and Central Asia and regions even farther to the northeast; here a short-haired carpet with nap, which had apparently been woven by Median or Persian masters, was found along with other objects under permafrost conditions [79:22–9; 80:52; see also 83 concerning the connections between Iran and Central Asia). The production of carpets was widespread in Persia: Xenophon and other classical authors mention soft Persian carpets with diverse patterns, and a depiction of a Persian carpet has been preserved on a relief from Persepolis [264, illus. 2].

The Lydians played a significant role in trade in Asia Minor and beyond its borders. The crafts were highly developed in Lydia, especially weaving and the manufacture of various items from leather. Lydia was situated at the crossroads of trade routes from west to east and from north to south. Herodotus (I, 93–4) mentions market traders in Sardis and writes that the Lydians were at that time the first in the world to be engaged in small-scale trade (which was apparently coin-based). It is possible that the Lydians were the first organizers of inns along the caravan roads [33:189, note 25]. According to Xenophon (*Anab.* I, 5, 6), it was always possible to buy bread at the "Lydian market" in the army of Cyrus the Younger, the satrap in Asia Minor.

Significant changes occurred in the trade of Asia Minor during the fifth century. When the Persians destroyed the major trading and crafts city of Miletus after the Ionian uprising, the leading role in the Greek commercial world shifted to Athens and Corinth.

Besides Egypt, Babylonia was also a supplier of grain (see, for instance, document Dar 442, which records the export of barley on ships from Babylonia to Elam). In addition, Babylonian cities were major centers for the manufacture of woolen clothing, which enjoyed great demand in other countries, particularly in Elam. The production of clothing was also developed in Miletus, which Herodotus (V, 28) called the pearl of Ionia

[concerning trade in the Achaemenid empire, see in addition to the previously mentioned works the following: 114; 230: 8ff and 229ff; 553].

Numerous Babylonian documents provide particularly rich information on internal trade within individual lands of the empire. Goods were delivered chiefly along rivers and canals in boats whose carrying capacity amounted to nearly 60 tons. Herodotus (I, 194) writes that the boats in Babylonia were river boats made completely of hides. But his assertion that the largest of such boats held up to 5,000 *talents* (150 tons) cannot possibly be correct, although it was possible for sea-faring ships to carry up to 200 tons of cargo or more. According to one Babylonian text, 1,600 *kur* of barley were loaded on ten ships, or 28,800 liters per ship [*CT* 22, 244]. Not infrequently goods were also delivered on donkeys. The texts testify to trade in barley, livestock, poultry, etc. between Babylon, Sippar, Nippur, Borsippa, Uruk and other cities [*GC*, Vol. 1, 247, 296, 332; *NRV* 728, 757, 765, etc.]. The Babylonian texts often speak of street merchants in salt, beer, wine (imported), vessels, etc. A retail trade in imported items arose in Achaemenid times [457:186].

According to Xenophon (*Anab.* I, 7, 15), there were many deep canals in Babylonia along which even boats laden with grain would travel. Xenophon (*Anab.* I, 5, 5) goes on to say that in the barren region west of the Euphrates the population lived by digging up mill-stones at the river, dressing them and hauling them off to Babylon for sale. When recounting the passage of Greek mercenaries through the Babylonian satrapy, Xenophon frequently mentions markets (*Anab.* II, 5, 30; III, 2, 21, etc.); in particular, he refers to the wealthy Babylonian city of Keny on the Tigris, from which wheat, bread, cheese and wine were exported on leather boats (*Anab.* II, 4, 28).

Curtius Rufus (V, 1, 36) writes that there was no other city in antiquity that could compare with Babylon in terms of its moral depravity and temptations. Indeed, the cuneiform texts support the fact that in Babylon it was possible to purchase almost anything that one desired, including love, which was offered in houses of prostitution.

Characteristically, powerful private business houses dominated the economy in Achaemenid Babylonia; these houses owned large plots of land, dozens and even hundreds of slaves, and numerous buildings situated in various cities. The earliest of such business houses was the house of Egibi [709; 691]. It functioned prior to the Persian conquest and continued its activities during the reigns of Cyrus, Cambyses, Darius I and Xerxes, selling, buying, and exchanging houses, fields, slaves, etc. Besides these activities, the house of Egibi was also engaged in professional banking operations, specifically as a creditor; it accepted deposits for safe-keeping, financed trade and founded commercial companies. The members of the house of Egibi, like other Babylonian business houses, did not loan out or use for credit monetary deposits that had been turned over to them for safe-keeping, but acted by using their own assets. The depositors in the house of Egibi were courtiers or individuals with whom the members of the Egibi family were connected by business interests. Some of the members of the house of Egibi were simultaneously in the service of the Persian kings. Thus, from the perspective of the evolution of financial institutions, Mesopotamia represented a stage of pre-monetary banking operations. The actual trade in moneys was invented by Greek trapezites in the fifth century B.C. The money-changing offices that appeared in Greek cities of the sixth century gradually became money-changing measurers, then money-changing bankers. For the first time in history, the Greek trapezites began to use the deposits entrusted to them for various purposes; that is, they began to be engaged in banking operations with the help of someone else's money [162:105ff].

The house of Egibi played an important role not only in internal, but also in external trade. Soon after the Persian conquest of Babylonia, the house of Egibi expanded its trading operations even into Media. Thus, according to one document, in 537 B.C. Itti-Marduk-balatu, the head of the house of Egibi, borrowed 1.5 *mina* of silver in Ecbatana (Agamtanu/Agmatanu) with the stipulation that the loan be paid off in Babylon with 30 *talents* of dates [*Cyr* 60]. Four years later Itti-Marduk-balatu again went to Ecbatana and lent 1⅓ *mina* of silver to one individual; this sum had to be paid back with interest in Ecbatana [*Cyr* 227].

With the help of their agents, the house of Ebigi also facilitated the normal trade with Elam [*Dar* 575 and 577]. In particular, Egibi sent ships laden with clothing to Elam [*Dar* 569]. According to Elamite documents from the sixth century, the Babylonians acted as suppliers of textiles for the royal warehouse in Susa [see the following texts: 105, No. 2, p. 221; No. 3, p. 206]. According to one text, Egibi issued to four of their trading agents "payment and provisions for three months for the trip to Elam" [*Dar* 572], while the same house issued 50 *shekels* of silver for six and a half months as payment to another agent [*Dar* 154]. According to Diodorus (XVII, 67, 3), various agricultural products were imported from Elam to Babylonia.

A document drawn up in the city of Opis in 528 B.C. is extremely significant. It records the sale by Itti-Marduk-balatu, the head of the house of Egibi, of a female slave on whose wrist was tattooed the name of her seller "in Akkadian and in Elamite" [*Camb* 143]. It is obvious that this female slave was purchased in Elam, since this is the only explanation for the tattoo in Elamite [*cf.* 642].

Another major business house was the house of Murashu, which was engaged in money-lending and trading operations in southern and central Babylonia over the course of 50 years during the second half of the fifth century B.C. Documents attest to three generations of this house. All its members were closely connected with each other through similar economic activities and traced their ancestry to its founder, Murashu. The central office of this house was located in Nippur, which has yielded 90 per cent of all the documents from the archives of Murashu. The texts, however, mention nearly 200 settlements which were involved in the operations of Murashu. There were more than 60 agents in the service of the house of Murashu.

The nature of its activities was affected by changes introduced by the Persians in the policy governing property in Babylonia. Land was distributed in plots among the Persian magnates and groups of warriors and civil servants, who were not themselves farmers and therefore rented the land for cultivation. The house of Murashu leased these plots, paid the rent to their owners, and paid state taxes on them into the treasury. However, the house of Murashu rarely tilled this land through the use of the slaves that belonged to them, but usually sublet it, supplying the tenants with operating livestock, seeds, agricultural implements and water for irrigation. In other words, the house of Murashu was chiefly an institution for agricultural credit and managed a fund of arable plots by being the intermediary between the landowners and agricultural workers. In addition, the house of Murashu was closely linked to the Persian nobility, which rented their lands to it.

In contrast to the house of Egibi, Murashu did not play any role whatsoever in international trade; rather, they sold within the country the agricultural products that they had received (dates, barley, etc.). For instance, in the calendar year 423–422 B.C. alone, they received 20,000 *kur* (approximately 36,000 hectoliters) of dates from their tenants, an amount which, when translated into monetary terms, amounted to 700 *mina* (350 kg) of silver.

The activities of the house of Murashu wreaked havoc on the economic structure of the country, since they brought the landowners to ruin. If at first the house of Murashu extended a loan to entrepreneurs, then after several decades it began more and more to replace them, concentrating in its own hands the land that had been taken as mortgage. Hence, it is not surprising that Murashu ruined not only isolated individuals, but even entire settlements. For instance, a document has been preserved which records that agents and slaves of the house of Murashu entered the house of a certain resident of Nippur and carried off utensils and other property. Ellil-shum-iddin from the house of Murashu, to whom the victim had appealed, found the purloined items and returned them, having secured a promise that judicial proceedings would not be brought against the house [BE, Vol. 9, 69].

The house of Murashu was closely linked to the royal family, renting lands and canals from it. When Darius II ascended the throne and triumphal ceremonies connected with this event were to be held in Babylon, the members of the house of Murashu rented a house in the city for several months ("till the appearance of the king") in order to take part in these ceremonies [BE, Vol. 10, 1].

The house of Murashu even owned fish ponds and rented them out. For instance, Ribat, a slave of the house of Murashu, appealed to Rimut-Ninurta from this house with a request: "Rent me a fish pond for a year ... For a year I will pay you half a *talent* of refined silver and, beginning with the day that you give these fish ponds to me for catching fish, I shall place daily on your table a stipulated amount of fish" [*BE*, Vol. 10, 54]. In turn, Ribat hired watchmen so that "no one would take away the fish from there ... If anybody takes away (even) one fish from this (pond), then he (the guard) must pay 10 *mina* of silver without a trial" [UM 111 and 112]. According to another contract, several men received from Ribat nets for catching fish and agreed to deliver to Ribat 500 fish of good quality over a period of 20 days. If they did not fulfill these terms, then during the next five days they would have to hand over 1,000 fish [UM 208].

There is no doubt that, as well as feeding members of the family of Murashu and its contractors, a substantial number of the fish caught in these ponds were sold. In particular, this practice can be extrapolated both from the extremely high annual rents from the ponds (specifically, half a *talent* of silver, for which it was possible to buy nearly 200,000 liters of barley or dates), and from the fine of 10 *mina* of silver for the guard who was negligent in the fulfillment of the duties which he had assumed.

The following two documents from the archives of Murashu are also of great significance. One of them records how three craftsmen, who are mentioned by name, appealed to Ellil-shum-iddin from the house of Murashu: "Concerning the golden signet ring with the emerald, we guarantee for a period of 20 years that the emerald will not fall out of the golden signet ring." If the emerald fell out of the golden ring before 20 years elapsed, the craftsmen agreed to pay 10 *mina* of silver [BE, Vol. 9, 41]. The second document, a contract concerning the rent of land, notes that the house of Murashu was forced to pay the scribe who had drawn up the appropriate business accounts an honorarium of 3 *kur* (540 liters) of barley [UM 74].

Neither the house of Murashu nor their predecessors, the house of Egibi, were referred to as merchants even once in the documents, since their activities were not restricted to trade, but were more multifaceted.

In Achaemenid Babylonia trade was substantially left in the hands of professional merchants (*tamkāru*), and the texts mention traders in dates, livestock, etc., which indicates the specialization of trade. Some of the *tamkāru* were engaged in international trade, while the majority were involved in the slave trade and the purchase and sale of livestock, barley, dates, fish, fruit, etc. within the country. Particularly significant were the commercial companies in which two or more men were jointly engaged in trading; they divided earnings and losses among themselves.

An interesting letter, sent by a civil servant of the temple of Ebabbarra to his chief, mentions that temple shepherds had secretly sold sheep to the merchants, and then both the shepherds and the merchants were detained in the city of Opis and sent to Sippar, where the aforementioned temple was situated, for an inquest [*CT* 22, 3]. According to another document drawn up in Ur in the fifth century, a woman received a loan in barley and vegetable oil for six months from a merchant, having handed over her son as guarantee. She promised to return the loan "in Ur, in the barn according to the measure of the merchant" [*UET*, Vol. 4, 104].

Foreigners are also known to have been among the Babylonian merchants. As early as under Nebuchadnezzar II, a Phoenician by the name of Hanunu (*i.e.* Hanno), being "the chief trader," was a highly-placed royal civil servant. It can be seen from the documents of the archives of Murashu that in the fifth century in the Nippur district there existed special "associations of merchants," which were allotted fields from the state land fund and which were in the royal service [BE, Vol. 10, 54; UM 195]. These associations were headed by "the chiefs of the merchants," who were responsible for the payment of royal taxes.

Iranian merchants were also engaged in trade. For instance, according to the testimony of a document from the time of Cambyses, "in the seventh year of the king Cambyses on the first day of the month of Kislimu [...], Razamarma, the son of Razamumarga (and) Aspumetana, the son of Asputatika, sold their female slaves Kardara (and) Patiza for $2\frac{2}{3}$ *mina* of silver to Iddina ..." [*Camb* 384]. Judging by the names, not only the sellers but also the female slaves were of Iranian origin. Later on, the text records that Razamarma and Aspumetana denied that they had received the price for the female slaves from the hands of the Babylonian who had purchased them. Then the Iranian Artarushu, "the chief of the merchants," declared in the presence of several individuals (including even a certain Elamite named Niriabignu – though his name is Iranian) that half of the purchase price of the female slaves had indeed been paid, and affixed his seal to the document with this statement. The document was written in the town of Humadeshu in western Persia [735:70]; however, witnesses, as well as the buyer of the slaves, were Babylonians.

J PRICES

We have at our disposal only a small amount of data relative to prices in Iran. According to the Fortification texts, during the period between 509 and 494 B.C. a substitution of some products for others occurred in the issuance of products for various purposes. These documents enable us to establish prices for some types of goods. For instance, barley was sometimes replaced by sheep during the issuance of products for religious purposes and in some other cases. One priest received eight year-old sheep instead of 80 *bar* of barley for sacrificial offerings to the gods (*PF* 352). One, two, three and eight sheep were issued respectively instead of 10, 20, 30 and 80 *bar* of barley [*PF* 278, 364, 587, 588]. Consequently, a sheep cost 10 *bar* (100 liters) of barley. However, in one instance, four (not eight) sheep were issued instead of 80 *bar* of barley for sacrifices. There is a case where four sheep were substituted for 30 *bar* of grain. Of even greater interest is a document according to which 120 *bar* of barley, instead of six sheep, were issued for the presentation of sacrificial offerings, or, as is noted in the text itself, 20 *bar* of barley for each sheep [*PF* 367]. As can be seen from these texts, the proportion of exchange was not always the same; apparently this can be explained by the fact that sheep were issued by weight, not by the head. There was an instance where 43.5 *bar* of barley was replaced by 14.5 *bar* of sesame, *i.e.* sesame was three times more expensive than barley [*PF* 297].

When barley was replaced by various fruits (figs, apples?, etc.), the ratio of 1:1 was always maintained. Given this fact, Hallock concluded that the ratio of 1:1 for these products was officially established in the royal economy, although this ratio might differ on the free market [*PF*, p. 5].

A donkey cost 50 *bar* of barley, and 50 *bar* of fruit were issued for a she-donkey, from which Hallock concludes that grain and fruit were equivalent to each other.[43] Furthermore, a mule and cow were obtained for 1,100 *bar* of barley, while a goat and nanny-goat were acquired for $6\frac{11}{30}$ *irtiba* (*i.e.* 19.1 *bar* or 191 liters) of fruit. It can be seen from this that a nanny-goat cost 9.55 *bar* of barley, while a sheep cost 10 *bar*. Similarly, 81 *bar* of barley were issued instead of 27 *marrish* of wine and 30 *bar* instead of 10 *marrish*, which indicates that 1 *marrish* (10 liters) of wine cost 3 *bar* (30 liters) of barley.

It is known from the Treasury documents that during the period from 492 to 458 B.C., prices for sheep and wine remained unchanged (a sheep cost 3 *shekels* of silver, while a jug of wine with a volume of 9.7 liters cost 1 *shekel*). If these rates already prevailed in the earlier period to which the Fortification tablets are dated, then, with the ratio of sheep and grain at 1:10, one *bar* of barley cost 0.3 *shekel*; and, with a ratio of barley and wine at 3:1, one *marrish* of wine cost nearly 1 *shekel*. Hallock notes that in the period from December to August of the year 466 B.C. the cost of one *bar* of barley fluctuated from 0.66 to 2.5 *shekels*, instead of the normal price of 0.3 *shekel*, from which it is possible to conclude that there was a great shortage of grain at that time [*PF*, p. 17].

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[43] However, *cf. PF* 1976, according to which a she-donkey cost 70 *bar* of barley.

According to Hallock's interpretation, ten texts [*PF* 1972–80, 2078] contain amounts showing that civil servants sought in a number of cases to exchange a certain amount of grain, fruit and wine for livestock. The texts do not indicate with whom the trade was conducted – whether with another administrative agency or with private individuals. Hallock assumes that the civil servants were attempting to exchange foodstuff surpluses for commodities that were in scarcer supply, but their efforts were, in the majority of cases, doomed to failure, in view of the fact that these officials had to hold strictly to the prices established by the state [*PF*, p. 8; see also 382:430–3]. Apparently, the prices set by the state for the sector of the royal economy in Persia and Elam remained unchanged, although, judging by indirect data, they differed markedly from the prices on the free market, where some goods were significantly more expensive.

Running a few steps ahead, let us note that grain in Iran was much more expensive than in Babylonia, while wine there was priced much more cheaply than in this neighboring country. The other food products in both countries cost more or less the same.

By the time of the capture of Babylonia by the Persians, prices of basic foods were at approximately the following level: 1 *kur* (180 liters) of barley or dates cost one *shekel* of silver; one *kur* of sesame cost 10 *shekels*; one *talent* of salt cost one *shekel*; and one *mina* of wool (0.5 kg) cost 0.5 *shekel*. A jug of barley or date beer cost less than one *shekel*, but grape wine, which was chiefly delivered from Syria, was expensive – one jug cost more than 8 *shekels*. An ox cost 40 to 50 *shekels*; an ass cost 30 to 50 *shekels*; and a sheep cost 1 to 2 *shekels*. Ten *talents* of copper, imported from Cyprus, were sold for 3 *mina*, 0.3 *shekel*; while 37 *mina* of lead were sold for 55.5 *shekels* and 3 *talents*, 53 *mina* of Egyptian alum were sold for 1 *mina*, 0.66 *shekel*. A boat with a carrying capacity of 110 *kur* cost one to 1.5 *mina*, while a house cost from 2 to 4 *mina*. The average annual rental payment for a house was from 6 to 20 *shekels*, while the average annual wages for the labor of an adult hired hand (regardless of whether free or a slave) was equal to 12 *shekels* [concerning prices in Babylonia, see 238:20ff; 542:1052ff].

After the capture of Babylonia by Cyrus, prices on food products and various commodities at first remained primarily at the former level, but gradually rose by the end of the Achaemenid period to approximately one and a half times what they had been. Such a gradual rise in prices was connected in particular with an increase in the amount of silver coming into circulation. Silver, which served as money, was used in Babylonia during the course of its entire history, and the opinion of many scholars notwithstanding, a rise in prices does not in itself testify in any way to economic decline or to a reduction in the standard of living. Payment for labor likewise grew side by side with the growth in prices. But, apparently, the creation of an administrative apparatus marked by great numbers also had its influence on the growth in prices in Persian times.

In Achaemenid Babylonia, as in earlier periods, the state organs drew up the official "lists of rates," in which prices for various commodities were set in silver [551:120]. For instance, one document says: "If he (*i.e.* the debtor) will not pay the silver [loan] on time, then he must hand over barley (instead of silver) at the rate which A and B [the creditors] determine to exist at that time in Babylon" [Kr 113].

K THE ARMY

The existence of the Achaemenid empire depended to a significant extent on the army, which was distributed in garrisons and, in case of an uprising or war in any country, was transferred along roads that had already existed for a long time or had been built especially for this purpose.

The state was divided into military toparchies, the number of which changed (for instance, there were seven toparchies under Xerxes and four under Artaxerxes II). Asia Minor was a separate toparchy, which, at the end of the fifth century B.C., was headed by Cyrus the Younger (the satrap of Lydia, Phrygia and Cappadocia). He had at his disposal not only ground troops, but also a navy. Armenia was also included in his toparchy. Ctesias speaks of the union of the Bactrians, Choresmians and Sogdians into a single administrative province. It is likely that the countries which were populated by these tribes constituted a single toparchy [73:48]. A list of Persian troops that has been preserved in the work of Herodotus mentions six military leaders, who, possibly, headed the toparchies [73:48].

Sometimes the toparchies were headed by special individuals from among the military personnel, to whom the military leaders of several satrapies were subordinate. Greek authors designated such toparchs by the word *karanos* (probably from *kāra*, meaning "troops") [*cf.* 158:123, note 5].

According to Xenophon (*Oec.* IV, 6–8), the Persian king organized an annual review of all his troops, for which military units – with the exception of garrisons in fortresses – were summoned to assembly points in their respective military districts. The king himself held the review in the assembly points lying close to his residences, while individuals whom he trusted were sent to remote districts. Garrison commandants, thousand-commanders and satraps whose troops and equipment were fully in order received awards, whereas negligent commanders were subject to punishment. It is known that one such assembly point was situated in the Castolus valley in Lydia; an assembly of troops quartered in Asia Minor to the west of the Halys River was held there annually (Xen., *Cyrop.* VI, 2, 11). Concerning the tactics of the Persians, Xenophon (*Anab.* I, 8, 22) writes that the military leaders commanded their troops while they themselves were at the center of the army.

The main body of the army consisted of Persians, the total number of whom hardly reached a million (in all there were nearly 50 million people in the Achaemenid empire). Xenophon (*Cyrop.* I, 2, 15) writes that "they say of the Persians that there are nearly 120,000." The reference here is probably to adult males.

A large section of the adult male population of Persians were warriors. According to Herodotus (I, 136), among the Persians the production of a large number of children was considered the greatest act of valor after martial courage; parents who had many children received gifts from the king. Children from five to 20 years were trained in horseback-riding, archery, the throwing of javelins and running, and underwent physical training (*cf.* Strabo XV, 3, 18). They apparently began military service at 20 years of age (Herod. I, 209; Strabo XV, 3, 19). Herodotus (IV, 84) recounts that all three sons of the illustrious Persian Oeobazus had to accompany the king on the Scythian campaign, but their father asked Darius I to leave at least one of them in Persia. The king answered that he would leave all three and ordered them to be killed.

The eastern Iranians also played a major role in the wars waged by the Achaemenids [51:36ff]. In particular, Bactria supplied the Persian troops with 30,000 horsemen (Curt. VII, 4, 30). The Sakai tribes supplied the Achaemenids with a substantial number of mounted bowmen who were accustomed to permanent military life and who served in the Persian garrisons in Egypt, Babylonia and other countries. The Sakai, along with the Persians, Medes and Bactrians, constituted the nucleus of the Achaemenid army. In this connection, it is important also to keep in mind the fact that the Sakai and Persians spoke closely-related languages and understood one another without translators [99:239]. The Sakai, in contrast to the Medes, Egyptians and representatives of many other peoples, are depicted with arms on the Persepolis reliefs. In the battle of Marathon, the Sakai cavalry, along with the Persian infantry, distinguished themselves with their bravery and forced the retreat of the center of the combat line of the Athenian troops (Herod. VI, 113). The Sakai warriors also displayed their steadfastness in the battles at Plataea and Thermopylae, and after the Battle of Salamis Mardonius selected the Bactrians and Sakai, alongside the Persians and Medes, to join the contingent of choice detachments with which he was to continue the subjugation of Greece [Herod. VIII, 113]. In one of the last battles which preceded the downfall of the rule of the Achaemenids, the battle at Arbela in 331 B.C., Sakai troops fought on the side of Darius III. The Sakai sometimes also served in the infantry. Terracotta statuettes depicting Sakai and, in general, eastern Iranians (Bactrians, Choresmians, Sogdians, etc.) in bashlyks and long narrow pants, have been discovered during excavations in many cities of the Persian empire, ranging from Egypt to Central Asia. A particularly large number of such statuettes has been found in Memphis (Egypt), Syria and Mesopotamia [394:15; 117, 1:172; 83:156]. Such was the greatness of the role of the other eastern Iranian tribes in the Achaemenid army. Aeschylus (*Pers.* 732–3) calls the Bactrians the flower of the Persian allies.

High-ranking posts and duties in the garrisons, at basic strategic points, fortresses, etc., were in the hands of the Persians.

The troops consisted of cavalry and infantry. The cavalry were recruited from among the nobility, whereas the infantry were recruited from among the farmers. The Persians themselves, as Bickerman has deduced from Greek sources, served mainly in the infantry as bowmen and lance-bearers, while the cavalry consisted mainly of Medes, Bactrians and Sakai. But the role of the cavalry was important, and Achaemenid inscriptions speak of Persia as a country with "good men and good horses." It is specifically the Iranians who were first to begin to use the cavalry widely – as early as the beginning of the first millennium – and who began to inflict defeats on the less easily maneuverable Assyrian charioteers [667:51].

The combined operations of the cavalry and bowmen assured the Persians victory in many wars, and until the beginning of the Graeco-Persian wars there was no army that could withstand the Persian army. The bowmen would throw the ranks of the opponent into disarray, and after this the cavalry would annihilate them. Herodotus (IX, 20–22) and Plutarch (*Arist.* 14) described the weapons of the illustrious Persian general Masistes. He rode on a Nesaean horse with a golden bridle and other adornments, he was dressed in a suit of armour with golden scales, and his hands and legs were covered with gold, copper, and iron armor. At the end of the fifth and the beginning of the fourth centuries B.C., the Paphlagonian cavalry likewise began to play an important role and was regarded as the best cavalry of the Achaemenids (Xen., *Anab.* V, 6, 8).

A particular view of Persian weaponry is provided by the objects of military equipment found in the Persepolis treasury house. Among these objects one can find hundreds of bronze and iron arrowheads, swords, daggers, javelins, spears, combat axes, shields, etc. [627, 1:174, 186–96, 2:97–101]. According to Xenophon (*Anab.* III, 3, 7 and 17), the Persian cavalry and infantry shot arrows from bows over long distances, while they shot from slings over short distances, utilizing the largest stones that they could possibly grasp in their hands.

As far as chariots are concerned, the Persians and Medes apparently began to use them only at the end of the fifth century B.C. when the so-called scythed chariots were invented. Iron sickles were attached to the axles of such chariots – some with their points upward, others with them down – which annihilated all living things in their paths.

The Persian Army was also indebted for its victories in no small degree to the fact that in the early period it consisted of free farmers and nomads, among whom social stratification had scarcely even begun. In addition, harsh natural conditions were conducive to the breeding of hardy warriors. However, the Persians did not create their own heavy-armed infantry, and later on, when it became necessary, they began to hire Greek soldiers. Diodorus (XIX, 21, 3) wrote that the Persians were experienced archers; however, the Persian infantry did not have defensive weapons, except for light shields. Hence, Diodorus continued, the Persians strove as much as possible to avoid hand-to-hand skirmishes with the heavy-armed Greek hoplites. Judging by Plutarch (*Arist.* 18), Persian shields were covered with hides, and the warriors covered themselves up tightly behind such shields.

The main weapon of the Persian army was the bow. This had been borrowed from the Scythians, whose name itself, in Abaev's opinion, means "arrows" [4:25]. According to Herodotus (I, 73), the Median king Cyaxares handed over his own children to the Scythians to learn archery. The ancient Greek poet Simonides called the Medes the "best throwers of arrows." The Medes (and later on the Persians) were armed with Scythian arrows and in general borrowed the techniques of equestrian archery from the Scythians [35:290]. In terms of ballistic qualities, the Scythian bows far surpassed the Akkadian (*i.e.* Assyrian and Babylonian) bows. As Piotrovsky has noted, there have been archaeological finds in West Asia, from the seventh century B.C. contexts onwards, of "bronze arrowheads of the characteristic form (two-plumed, with a tenon on one side or three-edged), distinct from the usual West Asian arrowheads, but coinciding in form with the Scythian ones." In his opinion, "it is extremely likely that these bronze arrowheads penetrated into West Asia together with the Cimmerians and Scythians in the seventh century" [71:238; concerning the Scythian arrows, see also 67:124–6; 35:252–4, 290; 52:83–107; 54:45–8].

During the course of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., finds of bronze arrowheads of the Scythian type suggest that "Scythian" arrows rapidly spread in the Transcaucasus, Asia Minor, Babylonia, Assyria, Syria and Palestine. In particular, they have been found in Asia Minor, Carchemish, Nineveh, Assur and Babylon. Piotrovsky correctly observes